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FBIS-EEU-96-092
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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-092 *10 May 1996*

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Albania: Republican Party Issues Electoral Platform

AU0905182196 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 9 May 96 p 2

["Electoral Program of the Republican Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our people have been summoned on 26 May to give their vitally important verdict on who will govern in the next four years.

The electorate sees that government by a single political force is inappropriate under our present conditions. At the same time, the electorate is inclined to vote for the most outstanding candidate. Thanks to this increase of democratic culture among the electorate, we are convinced that, in spite of the Electoral Law, the Republican Party [PR] and the Albanian right will assume the place they deserve in the future parliament, which will reflect a pluralism that guarantees the defense of the nation's interests, the rule of law, the development of democracy, and the country's economic progress.

The Republican Party will ensure you:

—private property;

—public order and peace;

—the punishment of crime.

The PR stands before the electorate as the sworn enemy of communism and a steadfast opponent of the left. We warn that a possible return of the former communists to power would have catastrophic consequences. Our commitment to avoiding this evil will be total.

The PR stands in firm opposition to the Democratic Party, which, with the high-handedness that comes from its authoritarianism and its encouragement of corruption, has caused a general crisis that is evident mainly in the weakness of the rule of law, the violation of human rights in connection with property, the suppression of national productivity, a bureaucratized state administration, and a decline in social and national morality.

The PR here proclaims its platform, with its main milestones on the road toward the elimination of the institutional, economic, and cultural legacy of communism and the establishment of a total democratic order.

I. Political Duties

A constitution including human rights and freedoms on the basis of international documents will be drafted within six months.

—The PR calls for the organization of parliament in four chambers. The senate will contain the damaging emotions of politics today.

A parliament shielded from party manipulation will complete the legal framework to accomplish a democratic transformation in the political and socioeconomic fields.

A balance between the legislative, executive, and judicial powers will be struck and defended to the end. (a senate)

The principle of a changeover of political forces in power, with unconditional respect for a free vote, will be observed. The free movement of opinions and ideas will be supported, with the exception of communist, fascist, and racist ideologies, which must be banned by law. The freedom of the press must be guaranteed. Private radio and television will be permitted without delay.

The government will be democratic, transparent, and subject to public scrutiny, opposed to the symbiotic party-state and to the arbitrariness, bureaucracy, and nepotism that destabilize society and hold back economic development.

A status for civil servants will be approved. All civil servants up to the rank of director in a ministry will be selected by open competitions that will weigh professional skills, punctiliousness, and probity.

No official of whatever rank may place himself above the law and the status of a civil servant.

Corruption has enveloped the entire country. A struggle for profit by all manner of means is seen as an aspect of transition. The corrupt boast of being up-to-date, while become not only hated and reviled, but dangerous. Corruption can be overcome by privatization, by eliminating the state from the direction of the economy, and with the help of a proper legal framework, modern accountancy, public denunciation, and harsh punishments.

Local government, as the foundation of the democratic state, will legally exercise extensive self-managing rights with its own budget and the right to appoint staff.

The Army must be entirely beyond party influence. The assistance and experience of NATO will help to simplify and modernize units and to increase our defense capabilities. Retired servicemen will be secured a subsistence.

The police will know and rigorously enforce the law, totally free of party influence, and will establish the public peace, preventing and eradicating spontaneous and organized crime, drug-trafficking, smuggling, and prostitution.

The death penalty will be enforced for mass terrorism, the kidnapping of children, and rape.

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The secular Albanian state, separated from religion, safeguards freedom of belief. The use of religion for political purposes is forbidden. All kinds of religious homogenization will be opposed.

The national minorities will be ensured full equality with ethnically Albanian citizens in all fields.

The PR will have the greatest commitment to performing these duties, under the deep conviction that the rule of law, a free vote, pluralism, and transparency, are vital elements for a democratic society and for progress.

The Republican rule of law will ensure you:

—private property

—public order, with the death penalty for the kidnappers of children, terrorists, and rapists.

II. Economic Management

The free market, on the basis of individual initiative and inherited private property, will be the guiding principle of the economy.

—All acts of nationalization, sequestration, and confiscation carried out by the communist regime will be totally revoked. Land with be returned to its owners on the basis of the Republican bill that has three main points:

1. Each person on his own land;

2. Those who have built houses on the land of others will be allowed 300 square meters for their home. Agricultural land will be left under cultivation at a fixed price for three years;

3. Large landowners will be restricted to 60 hectares. The difference will be compensated proportionately and soon, according to the state's resources.

Construction lots and buildings will be unconditionally returned to their owners in the towns. Forests and farmland will be returned to individual owners and peasant communities.

The PR is against a market economy that leads to state centralism, unproductive expenditure, and populist philanthropy, accompanied by inflation, budget deficits, the discouragement of investments, and economic stagnation. The role of the state in the economy is to be restricted to the approval of laws encouraging the free market and supervising these laws.

The overall problem of unemployment will be solved by restructuring the economy and redistributing employment according to a European pattern, with priority given to the service sector and the parallel development of agriculture and industry.

Infrastructure is a precondition for the development of the economy. Self-finance and the attraction of foreign investments will solve within four years the main problems of electricity, drinking water, telecommunications, household heating, roads, and transportation.

Strengthening the state and increasing prosperity for everybody depends on increasing national production. This can be achieved by legal and financial support for Albanian entrepreneurs in all fields, in active cooperation with foreign entrepreneurs and with the creation of free zones.

The PR sees in private enterprises the factor to set in motion the country's economic potential and will create every condition for their development.

Fiscal and customs policy will be thoroughly reconstructed in order to support production and the private sector as a whole. The banks will be privatized as engines of economic development. A system of foreign currency and security exchanges will be created The countryside will be freed in a natural and legal way of its surplus labor force, which will be absorbed by the development of the service and industrial sectors. Investments will be made in agriculture, as a sector that quickly repays investment. The following special measures will be introduced in the countryside:

Farming enterprises will be exempted from taxes for three years, and, after this period, taxes will be imposed on production.

Agricultural credit will include not only the finance of production but also construction projects, and will be extended as far as possible.

Within one year, existing drainage installations will be restored to use, and further soil improvement schemes will be studied.

Our agricultural, meat, and dairy products will be protected by customs taxes, and import duty on agricultural machinery and equipment, seeds, and chemicals will be lifted for three years.

It is necessary to build roads and the infrastructure in the countryside in order to encourage the movement of agricultural, meat, and dairy products, which are also the basis for the development of industry.

The PR has adopted these general criteria for economic development in its program, drawn up in consultation with distinguished specialists, in the conviction that its goals correspond to our real opportunities. The PR refuses to permit itself electoral demagoguery.

Albania starts in each person's home. The Albanians need work and not charity.

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III. Social Problems

The former victims of political persecution and the former kulaks will be given genuine priority in housing and employment, will receive early compensation, and will be protected from the inflation of bonds. Their activities, including their political work, will be supported. These were the strata of society whose sacrifices maintained the hopes of the people for freedom and contributed most to the downfall of the communist regime.

The PR has adopted the legitimate demands of pensioners who live in misery. They will be given priority in the distribution of national assets, free medical treatment, and concessions for small private businesses as additional sources of income. The state will shoulder the burden of the unsupported elderly and will help invalids. The pensions of peasants without sources of income will be reviewed.

A code for the family as the kernel of Albanian society will be drawn up. Women will be integrated in political and economic life. Families will be legally protected from abuse, and crippled and abandoned children will be placed under the care of the state.

Priority will be given to the employment of the young. Opportunities for competition will be provided at all levels of education. Suitable cultural and sports facilities will also be considered as a way of protecting young people from drugs and the sicknesses of the century.

Urgent attention will be given to emigration, with interstate agreements for extended and seasonal emigration and the free movement of family members. Private emigration agencies with state licenses will be created. The present situation regarding emigration is a national tragedy.

Education, health, culture, art, and ecology, as decisive factors for social development, will be strongly supported by legislation. Intellectuals, especially those with high qualifications, will be treated as primary national capital.

Different associations and movements that act to protect society from the ills of transition and life in general will be actively supported. The Albanians need work and not charity.

IV. The National Cause and Foreign Policy

The unification of the nation within its ethnic borders is a shared goal for the Albanians and, as such, must be embodied in the preamble to the constitution.

The unification of the nation will be achieved on a path of active peaceful resistance in accordance with the principle of the free self-determination of the peoples.

The Republican Party at present demands:

1. The recognition of the independence of Kosova;

2. The right to state-forming status for the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia];

3. Respect for the national rights of the Albanians in Macedonia and northeast Kosova;

4. The recognition and restitution of the property of the Cams forcibly evicted from their homes.

An academic national platform must be compiled as a strategic program. The Kosova and Cameria associations and other associations encouraging the national movement will become more widespread.

The integration of the diaspora in the country's political, economic, and cultural life will be supported by law and in practice. The private property of members of the diaspora will be recognized and returned.

Foreign policy will be independent, built on the basis of mutual respect for our neighbors and for all countries, giving priority to those states that have a traditionally benevolent attitude toward us.

The process of NATO's entry into NATO and all the structures of the EU will be speeded up.

The PR has adequate courage and willpower to act on its own convictions. Our appeal is for us to build a state with justice, private property, and public order.

We want to create a state that will guarantee progress, without this state becoming a danger to our freedoms.

We want an economic order that will give the individual an opportunity to work for his own prosperity and in which, when every individual works, all the nation's energies will unfold themselves. This powerful principle can be based only on private property.

We want a government that will be like a night watchman, present during he day, too, in order to thoroughly guarantee our lives and property and the free movement of citizens.

We want a judicial system that will be guided only by the constitutional laws and will never become an appendage to the political parties and the executive wing.

We want to build an Albanian community that will go toward Europe, and, as it advances, will also become as European as possible within itself.

We do not want to impose the sway of the PR. Fifty-five of our candidates for the 26 May elections are not

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members of the party. We want the most honest and capable men in the parliament and at the country's helm.

We have loyally served the nation and democracy and do not see any obstacle to frankly appealing for your vote. In parliament, we will make the laws you want to see.

Vote for the PR because, in this way, you will give the best chance to your family and to the entire country.

The Republican rule of law guarantees you:

—private property;

—public order;

—the death penalty for child kidnappers, rapists, and terrorists;

—commitment to securing the lives of your families, and, above all, work and not charity.

Long live Albania!

Albania: Voters Not 'Taken in' by 'Lies' of Major Parties

AU1005125396 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 10 May 96 p 3

[Article by "N.Gj.": "Hajdaraga Promises 80,000 Jobs in Tirana!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The heat of the election campaign is rising in geometric progression with the warmer temperatures of May. The Democratic Party [PD] promises that there will not be a single job lost, while the Socialist Party [PS] goes further and promises that there will be more jobs. Of course, each party has its own policy, while reality is disappearing under heaps of lies provided by the two main parties. On one hand, there is Berisha's long caravan with a dozen singers behind him, and, on the other, there is Luan Hajdaraga with dizzy promises, as if the whole of Albania will be filled with gold pieces on 27 May. It is striking that some opposition leaders are more realistic than the likes of Luan Hajdaraga and Ilir Meta. Hajdaraga's most recent announcement in Tirana that, if the PS wins, he (i.e. Hajdaraga himself) will immediately create 80,000 jobs is a Utopia and a big lie. Such promises are a pitfall for the future of the PS itself, if it takes power. It is better if the PS says things that are within its power to perform, instead of producing Hajdaraga to tell big fibs about 80,000 jobs. Why do Servet Pellumbi and Namik Dokle not make euphoric promises? Do they not know how to lie? No doubt they do, just as Berisha himself lies. However, the election campaign has some unwritten rules that must be respected, or else they rebound against you or against the party you represent. Hajdaraga's announcement in Zejmen near Lezhe that the PS is able to provide a telephone in every house is, if not a lie, crazy. He is behaving like Berisha in 1992, who said there will be 12 kinds of bread, a telephone in every house, and a well of drinking water for every second family.... The voters can no longer be taken in. They will know how to chose the people with the reputation, intellect, disposition, and probity to solve their pressing problems.

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Bulgaria: Nikolay Dobrev Appointed Minister of Interior

AU1005120696 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Zlatina Georgieva reports from the National Assembly:

[Georgieva] Good day. The National Assembly voted for effecting a change in the cabinet. In accordance with a proposal by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, the National Assembly approved by 124 votes from a total of 126 voting members the appointment of Nikolay Dobrev of the Democratic Left as minister of interior. Lyubomir Nachev was relieved of his post as minister of interior.

Vanya Manolova interviewed Nikolay Dobrev immediately after his election as minister of interior.

[Begin recording] A few moments after his election, virtually besieged by journalists, Nikolay Dobrev—already Minister Dobrev—said that today he will not be very talkative. Nevertheless, he succeeded in outlining three basic tasks of his future work. The first—to turn activity against crime into a real, rather than a formal priority of the Democratic Left. He promised that related issues will be posed more often on the agenda of the National Assembly and the cabinet.

Minister Dobrev's second priority will be cooperation with the investigation and prosecution organs, without allowing ideological differences to disturb the joint work. The third priority—acquiring the cooperation of all political forces and engaging their experts in the struggle against crime.

This is how he specifically sees the Ministry of Interior's firm hand in the struggle against crime:

[Dobrev] We have several tasks. The first is to work according to the principles upon which this ministry is based—the principle of statehood, which means that the ministry works only for the state. It cannot work for various economic groups, political forces, and individuals. The second principle is the one of legality. It is related to applying a firm-hand policy, and means that the firm hand can only be applied within the law. Nothing outside the law can be used or applied. Third—we must improve the technology of the ministry's most important work—its operational activity. We must apply a new operational policy, adequate for the characteristics and methods of the criminals.

Finally—when one struggles against illness in a society, the one who is struggling must be healthy himself.

The strong-hand policy will be sensed not only by the criminals, but also by the ministry—those employees who have been affected by corruption and negligence. [end recording]

[Georgieva] Prime Minister Zhan Videnov said that he prefers Nikolay Dobrev as minister of interior because he has proven that he can resolve the problems in the legislative sphere in his capacity as chairman of the National Assembly Commission on National Security. The prime minister coordinated his proposal with Mr. Dobrev prior to proposing him as minister of interior.

Asked whether there will be other changes in the cabinet, Mr. Videnov answered: This is what we are proposing now.

The deputies of the parliamentary factions of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the People's Union, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], the independent deputies, and part of the Business Bloc [BBB] deputies did not participate in the voting. Thus they reacted to the refusal of the majority to debate the issue. In a declaration on behalf of the SDS, Mr. Yordan Sokolov stated that it is not changes in the cabinet that are necessary, but rather the replacement of the government and a change in the policy of the parliamentary majority .

Mrs. Anastasiya Mozer of the People's Union said: It would be good to tell the truth: The state is heading toward bankruptcy.

We are burying our heads like an ostrich, Georgi Dilkov of the BBB said. The rulers must answer for their actions, Guner Tahir of the DPS said.

At the beginning of the session, Zhan Videnov made a statement. The current tension in our country, he said, is analogous to what is happening in other West European states. The government supported the actions of the National Bank regarding the stabilization of the leva. He appealed to parliament to adopt bills that will stabilize the banking system and guarantee the citizens' saving accounts

Bulgaria: Deputy Prime Minister Comments on Crisis

AU1005154696 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 10 May 96 p 10

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Doncho Konakchiev by an unidentified 24 CHASA representative; place and date not given: "Do Not Be Deceived by the Signs at the Currency Exchange Bureaus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [24 CHASA] Will the government take any action against the foreign exchange crisis?

[Konakchiev] The government does not control the foreign exchange market. Laws exist that control it.

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[24 CHASA] What do you think about the fact that our shops are selling goods for dollars and German marks?

[Konakchiev] Look at the turnover in the market, and do not be deceived by the signs at the currency exchange bureaus.

[24 CHASA] The bureaus are doing no business.

[Konakchiev] When they have trading difficulties, this means that the foreign exchange values are not realistic. They are attempting to arouse a panic, to destabilize the system. It will be very nice if you help by not disseminating these things, but do the opposite.

[24 CHASA] Will the budget be updated or not?

[Konakchiev] No, never! Someone is inventing certain things, perhaps to create problems for Bulgaria, both for us and you.

[24 CHASA] Who is this someone?

[Konakchiev] You look for him! Surely you are the journalists, it is your job to make journalistic inquiries.

[24 CHASA] Then someone has an interest in the crisis apart from the speculators?

[Konakchiev] Of course. It is those who plundered the state in 1991 and 1992, those who ruined Bulgaria's agriculture and industry, and who lost our positions in the foreign markets where we sold goods for foreign currency. Do you know that Bulgaria used to have annual revenues of $3.5-4 billion? I mean U.S. dollars!

These are economic interests connected with more complex structures. For example, somewhere a price list has appeared, somewhere something else has happened, or some kind of report has appeared on the prices of goods.... However, when you look, you see that this report only shows the prices of cigarettes, and nothing else.

[24 CHASA] Do you visit the stores?

[Konakchiev] Of course I do. I go around the stores and around the country.

[24 CHASA] Well, look in at Vitoshka [Sofia's main shopping street]. Last night, before closing time, the prices were....

[Konakchiev] Why should I go to Vitoshka? You are funny people. Take the population of Bulgaria and calculate how many of them shop on Vitoshka. What sort of examples you give to me!

There is a store on the ground floor of the apartment block where I live that I visit every day. In that shop, there are none of the wonders that you mentioned: no prices in dollars, no leaps in prices, nor anything else. There is a normal increase in prices, which is natural for the situation that we are in.

As for Vitoshka, Kaertnerstrasse, and other such places, there you can find all kinds of fancy prices. However, do not push the Bulgarian people to go to places that are not right for them. The Bulgarian people live life their own way. They have their jobs, struggle through their difficult lives, but they do not have any connection with these shop windows, which are stuffed... with different things. You should act more correctly toward the Bulgarians!

[24 CHASA] Will there be other changes in the cabinet after Minister Nachev's resignation?

[Konakchiev] Yes, there will be.

[24 CHASA] It is said that there will be other changes in personnel.

[Konakchiev] Where do they say this? Perhaps some woman said it in a lineup. Politics is a serious matter, you should forget this line of talk! Changes there will be, when the time comes. Next Sunday, we will again discuss the structural changes. These have a single goal, namely to enable the cabinet to work better.

Bulgaria: Minister Claims Dollar Crisis Will Be Overcome

AU1005152096 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 May 96 p 9

[Interview with Bulgarian Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov by Irena Marinova; place and date not given: "The Leap in the Dollar Will Be Brought Under Control in a Month or Two"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Marinova] Mr. Minister, did you hand in your resignation today?

[Kostov] No, there is no truth in that rumor.

[Marinova] Were you asked to resign?

[Kostov] Who would want me to?

[Marinova] The Democratic Left Parliamentary Group.

[Kostov] No, no one demanded my resignation, nor did I submit it.

[Marinova] Is it possible that you are still not aware of it?

[Kostov] For the time being, I am continuing to bear my cross, as people say.

[Marinova] You are not thinking of resigning yourself?

[Kostov] I have not yet shown the white flag.

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[Marinova] What measures will the government take to get the situation with the dollar exchange rate under control?

[Kostov] At its meeting today (9 May—editor's note), the cabinet discussed closing down firms. I will give you more information on 13 May.

[Marinova] You said that 60-70 companies will be closed down. What is the exact figure?

[Kostov] 65.

[Marinova] How many banks will be closed down?

[Kostov] We still have to discuss the banks. In any event, if anything is done about the banks, it will have to be done with proper concern for the depositors because the deposit guarantee scheme was drafted for a more normal situation. We may discuss an alternative of providing a higher degree of protection for the depositors. I should add that the question of people's foreign currency accounts has never been discussed.

[Marinova] You claim that citizens' foreign currency deposits will not be touched, but yesterday some banks drew a line under them.

[Kostov] This is a matter of guaranteeing all deposits, not only foreign currency deposits. That is why I said that we are considering a higher degree of protection.

[Marinova] Will you recommend to the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB] that it issue a new order on guaranteeing deposits?

[Kostov] We are still investigating to decide in what form the deposits will be guaranteed. In any event, in such a situation it is appropriate to seek a higher degree of protection for deposits, so as to assure people that their savings are secure.

[Marinova] Is it possible that deposits will be blocked, and under what conditions may this be done?

[Kostov] Under no conditions, because blocking deposits will not help in any practical way. A problem exists with individual banks. We have to do further work on this issue and provide a greater degree of protection for deposits, both foreign currency ones and deposits in leva, to cover savings in general. We want to untie the BNB's hands to act more boldly against these banks, which in fact are not banks at all.

[Marinova] Will there be a monetary reform, or an exchange of money?

[Kostov] These are wild improvisations and nonsense.

[Marinova] Dealers and bank experts accuse you of having a hand in encouraging this soaring of the exchange rate, due to your statement that the budget will be kept to even if the dollar rises to 150 leva. They have decided to test the truth of this statement.

[Kostov] What I said that we will spend money more frugally. These are quite different things. If anyone wants to justify himself by referring to my statements, he should at least quote them correctly.

[Marinova] Today [9 May—editor's note] the prime minister's adviser Ivan Angelov accused all the governments, including the present one, of failing to act. Do you consider that you have done what is needed to bring the exchange rate under control?

[Kostov] It can always be said that there is something more to do. I never think that everything has been done and that it is time to sit with my arms folded.

[Marinova] What else can be done?

[Kostov] The most serious measure that should be taken is to take real steps to close down the loss-making companies. The losses that these firms are generating even exceeded last year's budget deficit, and exceeded it almost twofold at that. This is something that must be done, however painful it may be. Of course, we will provide the necessary degree of protection and social assistance to people, but it must be done.

The loss that will be eliminated is 12-13 billion leva, if one takes the accounts reports for 1995 as a basis. This is about 25 percent of the total losses last year. Apart from the liquidation approach, we will also seek a solution along the lines of restructuring companies' finances. I mean rehabilitation programs, not investing money in these loss-making companies, but rescue programs to put them in a position of being able to cover their costs with the revenue that they generate, instead of being a burden on society as a whole.

[Marinova] Is it true that the BNB will deposit our gold reserves in Basel?

[Kostov] You should ask the BNB to comment on this.

[Marinova] How long will it take to bring the dollar exchange rate under control?

[Kostov] It may be brought under control within a month or two. The very fact that we will reach an agreement with the IMF will be a great help in controlling the exchange rate.

[Marinova] What will be the level of the dollar then?

[Kostov] I would not venture to be a fortune teller, and I will not give figures or make forecasts about the foreign exchange rate. It is true that we may not be able to contain inflation within the range of 20-25 percent, but

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at least it may be limited to 35-40 percent. In any event, it will be lower than last year.

[Marinova] Will the situation be brought under control during your government's tenure, or will it resign in the meantime?

[Kostov] That is your problem. I know that we have to work to bring the situation under control. In the final analysis, this work is no joke. People's futures are at stake.

[Marinova] Are you still convinced that you will get by without updating the budget?

[Kostov] I have already said that we have to spend money more thriftily.

[Marinova] Will ministers and deputies stop making trips abroad?

[Kostov] That is another possibility: for smaller delegations to make trips and for them to spend less foreign currency.

(In the foregoing interview, questions are used that were asked by journalists from other newspapers with the tacit consent of the Council of Ministers Press Center)

Bulgaria: Videnov's Adviser Urges Action on Economy

AU1005080396 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 May 96 p 7

[Article by Professor Dr. Ivan Angelov, the Bulgarian prime minister's economic adviser: "Structural Reform Will Save Us From Disaster"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Inaction

Like its predecessors since the beginning of 1991 until the present, I understand that the government is following a course of inaction. Characteristic features of this kind of behavior are the simulation of action or incorrect actions. There has been a lot of talk about reforms, without implementing actual reforms. The reforms have boiled down to a deregulation of economic activity, without undertaking any structural changes. As far as such changes existed, they were not the result of well considered actions by governments, but of elemental processes on the fringe of the law and lawlessness. As a result of this, the criminal privatization of property and incomes far exceeds the official forms. Real incomes were halved compared with the years prior to the reforms, in combination with a severe social polarization—the concentration of wealth in the hands of 5-7 percent of the population and of penury in 50-60 percent, and with the degradation of the skills of tens of thousands of specialists. The situation also deteriorated into an economic degradation: chronic macroeconomic and financial instability, without any signs of a lasting economic revival. The relative financial stabilization in 1995 was a temporary phenomenon, fragile and illusory. In the course of five to six years, the pathological processes came to maturity in the economy, whose treatment required radical surgical intervention, not cosmetic treatment. Last year, no more than the latter was done. There was a lack of political readiness and prepared expertise. The preparations for the surgical operation on the economy needed time, all the more so in view of the fact that no such operation has been conducted in Bulgaria for the last 60-70 years.

Action

Under the prevailing conditions in Bulgaria, the action needed bears the name of structural reform. This reform includes an accelerated mass and cash privatization, an improvement in financial discipline and restructuring of the real production sector, a rehabilitation of the banking sector and the entire financial system, a rationalization of budget activities, reform in the social sector, and changes in the industrial sector, production, and economic, regional, export-import, and other structural features of the economy.

The Bulgarian economy long ago ceased to be responsive to treatment solely or mainly with instruments of macroeconomic policy. Strict monetary, budget, or incomes policies can only be of use for a certain time. This time elapsed long ago. Restrictive macroeconomic actions, conceived as anti-inflationary, produce the opposite effect when the dosage and the period of treatment are misapplied. Our economy long ago become insensitive to such a therapy.

The 1995 Economic Year

In rough figures, the economy in 1995 showed a slight improvement. Modest growth took place, inflation was reduced several-fold, and we saw a positive balance of trade, a fall in unemployment, and a slowing (though not a halt) in the decline of real incomes. However, this was a temporary and fragile phenomenon. Those familiar with the processes beneath the surface of the economy knew that the fever temperature of the economic organism had only temporarily been lowered, without being brought back to normal. Only economic propagandists claimed that there had been a breakthrough in the economy.

What precisely do I have in mind?

Over 2,640 state firms finished 1995 with a net balance-sheet loss of 52.7 billion leva, or 6.05 percent of GDP.

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Taken overall, in the 1992-95 period the companies with negative financial results amassed losses of 161.8 billion leva. About 43 percent of the net money flow was financed through the banking system, 29 percent from the budget, and 22 percent by the suppliers. The total deficit in the state sector (budget-financed and quasi-budget-financed) exceeded 20 percent of GDP.

At the end of April this year, state and private companies owed the banks 403 billion leva, a not inconsiderable part of which was irrecoverable. The accumulated current losses and debts of the state companies to the banks, the budget, state social insurance, suppliers, and their own employees amounted to 80 percent of their technical long-term material assets, that is, the companies are almost decapitalized.

Some of the companies with the biggest losses have an average annual wage bill per employee of between 100,000 and 150,000 leva and a per capita loss ranging from 500,000 to 1.5 million leva For the state, it is cheaper to pay these people to do nothing than to pay them to produce losses.

Here are a few typical examples: In the largest district heating company, the mean annual pay per employee in 1995 was 126,000 leva, while the year's loss per member of staff was 1,436,000 leva; in a metallurgical company with a mean annual per capita wage bill of 117,000 leva, the per capita loss for the year was 613,000 leva; in a large engineering firm with a mean annual wage bill per employee of 77,000 leva, the per capita loss was 436,000 leva; in a company in the chemical and petrochemical industry the mean annual wage bill was 213,000 leva per head, while the annual loss per employee was 1,301,000 leva; in a large textile company with a wage bill of 50,000 leva per employee, the losses were 336,000 leva per head; in a Vinprom enterprise, the annual wage bill was 105,000 leva per employee, while the loss was 3,691,000 leva per head; in a large transport company the wage bill was 239,000 leva per employee, while the losses were 559,000 leva per head, and so on and so forth.

Our society has perhaps not yet perceived that the symbol of real industrial power is not factory chimneys belching out smoke. Now is the time for us to realize that the production of goods and services at any price is an irresponsible policy; that our production must cost less, the same, or at least not much more than imports; and that we cannot for ever disregard economic rationality. If we do not conmprehend this truth, we cannot hope for anything good in the future.

The roots of this grave situation lie far back in time. However, the greatest "contribution" to it has been made by the governments that ruled Bulgaria after 1 January 1991. Because of this, the statements by former highly placed individuals who were personally responsible for the inaction and who are now assuming the role of prophets and even accusers, while attempting to shrug off their own responsibility onto the shoulders of the present government, which came to power just 15 months ago, sound cynical. Within a span of 15 months, even in normal conditions and with an ideally tuned economic policy, it is hard to check the negative processes of inertia in an economic system, let alone when development has to be reoriented in a different direction and under extremely grave internal and external economic conditions. One would have to be professionally illiterate or a demagogue to claim the opposite or to propose to us a government of national salvation (with the unuttered thought that it will have a seat for him).

Also frivolous were the claims that the positive results last year were a product of the actions by previous governments. This is not quite true. However, even if for the moment we allow that it is true, then surely the "inertia" factor continues to operate in 1996 as well; in other words, the erroneous economic policy of previous years has contributed to the present grave state of the economy.

Let us take just one example: the payments for servicing the foreign debt. At the end of 1994, the present government inherited a gross foreign debt of $10.4 billion. During its term of office (1995-98) it has to pay $4.54 billion, or $1,135 million per year. Of this amount, about $280 billion is due to the banks of the London Club. Is it not appropriate to ask ourselves about the responsibility of those who rashly accepted loans in 1991-94 without thinking about the need to service them in the future? Now the self-same people are trying to teach us lessons and transfer their own sins onto our shoulders. What hypocrisy!

The Two Alternatives

The government has two alternatives in its economic policy: inaction and action.

If the government chooses inaction, this year there will be no growth in GDP and an economic decline is even possible. The stagnation may even continue into the following years. If it selects action, a small growth is possible as a result of the more rational allocation of the resources freed by the liquidation of about 130 companies that are responsible for 25 percent of the losses and the rehabilitation of about 60 other firms that produce 65-70 percent of the losses (see table [not reproduced here]). Conditions are being created for growth of 4-5 percent in GDP in 1997 and higher growth in succeeding years.

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If the government remains inactive, inflation this year will be in three figures, mainly as a result of the collapse of the dollar-lev exchange rate, high interest on deposits and loans, and the large budget deficit. If the cabinet acts without delay, the mean annual inflation in 1996 may be limited to 35-45 percent and conditions may be created to trim it to 20-25 percent and even lower in 1997.

If the government remains inactive, the base interest rate of the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB] will track inflation and will reach a three-figure value. The same will happen to the interest rate on loans, which will block economic activity in the companies, because they will lose access to credit for working capital. As for loans for investment, we can forget about them altogether. In addition, the higher interest rates will increase even further the companies' financing costs and thus losses, and many of them will suspend servicing of their debts to the banks. The credit portfolios of the banks will further deteriorate, which will block their activities. The interest rates on deposits will also rise, but this is unreal income, since it will simply pump up inflation, creating new nominal income that is not covered by goods and services. The extremely high base interest rate will cause the budget to collapse through servicing the internal debt.

If the government acts, the base interest rate will be held at around 40-45 percent and the new interest rates on loans and deposits will be at corresponding levels. The unfavorable effects on the budget, companies' finances, and people's incomes will be substantially alleviated. In 1997, we may expect a base interest rate of around 20-25 percent, perhaps even lower.

If the government remains inactive, the BNB will finally lose control over the exchange rate, whose mean value in 1996 will considerably exceed 100 leva to the dollar. The unpredictability of the exchange rate is also a matter for concern. Without foreign exchange reserves, the possibilities for the BNB to control the rate are limited. The consequences of such a devaluation of the lev will be very serious, particularly when inflation is very sensitive in its reaction to exchange rate fluctuations. The collapse of the lev will place exporting and importing firms in a completely new situation. The budget will finally disintegrate under the burden of servicing the foreign debt. This will have very serious effects on the commercial banks that are repaying loans to foreign banks. If the government acts, the average annual exchange rate of the lev may be held at about 100 leva to the dollar, which means that the lev's real exchange rate will either be preserved or only slightly reduced. This is not surprising, when one considers that the lev became considerably more expensive in real terms during 1995. With this scenario, one may expect relative stability of the real exchange rate in 1997.

Bulgaria: Videnov Adviser Rules Out Moratorium on Payments

AU1005121096 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 10 May 96 p 11

[Interview with Ivan Angelov, economic adviser to Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, by Lili Popova; place and date not given: "There Will Be No Debt Moratorium"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Popova] Mr. Angelov, what do you think about the exchange rate?

[Angelov] You should ask the people who control the exchange rate about that.

[Popova] Will the cabinet take any measures together with the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB] to reassure the foreign exchange market?

[Angelov] I am not familiar with the details, but in the event of such a strong destabilization of the foreign exchange market, which is so limited that I would say it has shrunk to the size of a small street market, the slightest disturbance provokes crises. All of us surely support an independent National Bank. Symmetry must exist between rights and responsibilities. Since it possesses rights, the management of the central bank must also bear its responsibility.

[Popova] Perhaps the statement made by Anne McGuirk [visiting IMF representative] about a forthcoming agreement will have a positive effect on the market?

[Angelov] I think it may do, and also think that Anne McGuirk is correct in what she said. We are likely to have an agreement soon, because between the IMF, the World Bank and us there are no significant differences in our assessments of the situation and the measures that need to be taken.

[Popova] However, the IMF claims that you have still not submitted to it the list of companies earmarked for liquidation.

[Angelov] The list of companies for liquidation will be approved by the Council of Ministers today (9 May—editor's note), while the program giving dates and showing the ministers responsible (which the IMF has) was translated into English a week ago.

[Popova] Is there any need to block the citizens' foreign currency deposits?

[Angelov] Such a step is out of the question.

[Popova] How should one act in such a crisis?

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[Angelov] That is the BNB's job. Speaking as an expert, I say that the BNB can cooperate much better with the other state banks, which hold substantial foreign currency deposits.

[Popova] Is it possible that we will have to declare a moratorium on foreign debt payments?

[Angelov] Sufficient reserves are available to make a moratorium unnecessary this year. However, if we fail to conclude an agreement, there is a risk of a moratorium next year.

[Popova] Will it be necessary to update the budget?

[Angelov] Ask the finance minister.

[Popova] What is your own opinion?

[Angelov] As a specialist, my answer is yes.

Bulgaria: Lev's Collapse, Exchange Crisis Examined

AU1005161296 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10 May 96 p 9

[Article by Genka Markova: "Dollar Stops States' Watch"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even the rulers admit that our country is in a state of emergency created by the fiasco in the foreign exchange market, which certain experts currently refuse to admit. However, the emergency does not concern just the state's financial collapse, which is, rather, an indication of what could happen with our state from now on.

The execution of three policemen one early morning last week was an indication that the state structures cannot cope with crime, and that in this sphere the situation is already out of the control of the executive and judiciary branches. The Black Dollar Wednesday of 48 hours ago adds even darker nuances to the bleak picture, as it revealed that the situation in the financial sphere, too, is not under the control of our government. This already poses a question mark over our very state. For the time being we still have the weak consolation that our parliament is still functioning.

One is impressed by the manner in which bankers, politicians, and experts reacted to and commented on the Black Wednesday. The Bulgarian National Bank governor reacted to the lev fiasco by imparting his own feelings and the feelings of the National Bank bankers regarding the lev's collapse. "If we sense that such a measure [interference in the foreign exchange market on the part of the National Bank] would be a reliable step—we will take it." Again, according to him the lev could temporarily lose a part of its value, but the question is how much will this cost the state. This reaction did not calm the market or those who have saving accounts. The Bulgarians, with their well-conditioned reflexes, headed for the banks and withdrew their leva and dollars for better days. As far as the experts are concerned, the framework within which they explained the situation included concepts such as panic, horror, chaos, fiasco, lasting fear, uncontrolled raise, irritated reaction, and so on.

The ministers' commentaries also demonstrated the lack of an adequate reaction. Indeed, their reaction cannot be described as intuitive or emotional, but rather as something very close to political demagogy. According to Deputy Prime Minister Konakchiev, he did not notice any signs of foreign currency or leva collapse in the small store in his building's ground floor, and everything was invented by the journalists. Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Koralski asked the National Bank to sanction all "players" and dollar speculators, who, according to him, should pay "dearly" for everything. Finance Minister Kostov denied the rumors about his resignation and passed the "lev-dollar" ball to the National Bank. After meeting Anne McGuirk (IMF mission chief) on 9 May, Deputy Prime Minister Gechev increased the brilliance of his smile, which was supposed to inspire citizens with self-confidence and calm.

The politicians also demonstrated the lack of political reflexes. The majority and the opposition in the National Assembly did not move a single muscle to improve the situation in the state. One becomes puzzled over why the deputies did not demand an extraordinary meeting of parliament, at which the ministers and prime minister should explain why they intend to do. Instead, they demonstrated outward calm, and observed their regular agenda, despite the fact that the situation is near the boiling point.

Today the National Assembly will debate and vote on Minister Nachev's resignation and the appointment of Nikolay Dobrev to the post of minister of the interior. This could shift the public's attention for a few hours from the day's real hot issue. However, this will not be even a short reprieve for the cabinet. The prime minister and his team are pressed for time. His last chance is in Ms. McGuirk's next statement. Her first statement upon her arrival at Sofia Airport was: "We will try to achieve as much progress as possible in the talks with this cabinet. If it falls, we will continue our talks with the next cabinet."

Thus, while all are expecting a miracle from Ms. McGuirk's mouth, it would be beneficial to ponder over the meaning of the concept of "emergency." It

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must be admitted that the lev's collapse against the dollar is a fact, which could always be interpreted as a "disaster" for the state. This "disaster" indeed fits the article of the Constitution that mentions "military or another emergency."

The dollar has stopped the state's watch. We have yet to see the end of this script, in which the lev is in a no-win situation. Only a few people remain who believe that the lev can be resurrected.

Bulgaria: Citizens Comment on Leap in Dollar Rate

AU1005091696 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 10 May 96 p 12

[Under rubric: "People Say"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgi Gyulomilov, engineer: The devaluation will proceed even further. As the cash privatization starts, the Communists will buy up the firms cheap because they have the money. This will again hit the lev.

Katya Racheva, pensioner: I only know that it has become extremely frightening. Today all the prices are in foreign currency, and no one thinks about the fact that pensions and wages are paid in leva.

Radka Petrova, pensioner: The lev is in a terrible crisis. People are saying that the state will disintegrate. Who will explain to me what this means?

Antoniya Petrova, artist: The lev has been abandoned to the vicissitudes of fate, and nothing good is expected either for it or for us. I can only say that I am terribly confused.

Georgi Georgiev, bank supervisor: The dollar rate will rise further. The last day or two have been disastrous for the lev. It only remains for us to wait and try to survive.

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Slovakia: Russian Daily: Meciar Aides Offer Neutrality Option

AU0905142396 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 1

[TASR report: "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Asks Whether Slovak Republic's Neutral Relationship Toward NATO Is Possible"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow/Bratislava—At a meeting with Russian experts, diplomats, and representatives of the Office of the President of the Russian Federation on 7 May, the Slovak prime minister's adviser Peter Stanek proposed the establishment of a Russian-Slovak corporation for the modernization of weapons of Soviet origin and for cooperation in the arms industry, the Russian daily NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA wrote yesterday. The corporation, the founding of which NATO will try to prevent, could be open also to Poland and the Czech Republic.

The new approach to the problem of European security, to which the meeting was devoted, is, according to the Russian daily, proof of Bratislava's efforts to find with Moscow a compromise on the issue of NATO's eastward expansion. The author emphasizes the Slovak guests' statement about the possibility of the Slovak Republic's neutral relationship toward NATO and about "Slovakia's not entering NATO." One-sided orientation toward the West is too great a risk, the daily quotes Prime Minister Meciar's adviser Jana Cerna as saying.

The Slovak Republic will try to raise its economic interests to a subject of bargaining in the discussions on NATO's eastward expansion, the daily believes. Russia has a trade surplus with Slovakia, where it exports mainly crude oil and natural gas. Attempts to sell Slovak goods in Russia fail because Russia simply does not need the range of products being offered to it, the daily observes. After the Slovak offer, Moscow will now have to solve a dilemma: Should it sacrifice its political or its economic interests? Everything suggests that a broad scope for a compromise, as well as for a discussion on the topic of NATO and East Europe, will be created by Peter Stanek's heralded meeting with Yuriy Baturin, the national security adviser of the president of the Russian Federation, the Russian daily says in conclusion.

The Information Department of the Slovak Government Office declared that Engineer Jana Cerna and Engineer Peter Stanek, advisers of the prime minister of the Slovak Republic, did not grant an interview to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA or any Russian journalist. The allegations in the article "Is the Slovak Republic's Neutral Relationship Toward NATO Possible?" are the author's irresponsible fabrications.

Slovakia: Meciar on NATO, Hungarian Treaty, Russian Ties

LD1005093596 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1055 GMT 8 May 96

[News conference by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar with foreign journalists on 8 May in Bratislava—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent in Polish fading into Slovak translation] I would like to ask the prime minister his view of statements by Russian politicians about the accession of all the postcommunist states to NATO. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] A number of states have applied to join NATO simply because they are looking toward NATO as the guarantor of their own security, and Slovakia has also taken this step for the same reason. No program of NATO's enlargement has been outlined so far, despite the fact that it is being spoken about as a political fact to become reality in the future. Before this happens, important political talks and decisions that are beyond our control will take place—the U.S. and Russian presidential elections.

While striving to join NATO, the Slovak Republic at the same time emphasizes the need for a blueprint of an all-European security system that will not exclude anybody. Such a project will have members and states that will cooperate. The absence of such a project makes the countries not involved in NATO's enlargement fear for their security in the future.

We can see that all countries in Europe have taken a positive view of Partnership for Peace. This is a good step. However, a series of talks should follow to help form an all-European security system. [passage omitted]

As regards the Russian attitude, I would like to say that the Russian side has never during any of our talks given me any orders or demanded anything from me. They briefed me about their view and told me: Do what you want, time will show who is wrong. No pressure has ever been exerted.

As regards the Russian side, during my talks with them it became clear that they fear isolation. Many people there see NATO's enlargement as an attack on their security interests because so far no fundamental changes of security structures have taken place on either side. This is their reaction. However, I am not a spokesman for the Russian side. I can only speak on behalf of the Slovak Government, which is interested in NATO's being enlarged in the interests of Europe as a whole.

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I would like to express the fear, as I have already done several times before, that enlarging NATO quickly without preliminary agreements or a blueprint for an agreement with Russia might result in a new division of the world by creating a Russian-Sino-Arab alliance. We must ask ourselves how much better off we would be in that case.

In this context, I would like to say that, as regards the countries striving to join NATO, including the Central European countries of the former Visegrad Four group, I feel the pronounced lack of their mutual coordination and cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified Hungarian correspondent, in Slovak] [Passage omitted] I think your view is that the signing of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty documents and their forthcoming exchange is not an end but the beginning of [words indistinct] cooperation between Hungary and Slovakia. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] For both governments, fulfillment of the treaty is a matter of honor and an expression of their responsibility for the future. Attempting to turn the wheel of history back means to stop progressing toward European structures. Budapest should not forget the European Union statements that only the countries that have settled their affairs with their neighbors can hope for membership in NATO and the European Union. [passage omitted]

[REUTER correspondent, name indistinct, in Slovak] Prime Minister, I would like to return to relations with the Russian Federation. We have lately noticed some statements, above all by Russian officials of different ranks, hinting at the existence of a special relationship between Bratislava and Moscow, when compared with the other postcommunist countries. I would like to know whether you agree with this assessment. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] I would not describe our relations with Moscow as specific; I would describe them as good. The Slovak Republic is interested in seeing democracy strengthened and democratic forces winning in Russia. The Slovak Republic is interested in balanced economic relations. [passage omitted]

Russia is also interested in developing our cooperation. Eighty percent of their energy supplies to the West pass through our territory. They want a guarantee of their continued undisturbed transit. The same applies to railway routes and other types of cooperation. Slovakia depends on Russia for energy and raw materials. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Kovac Protests Meciar's Remarks on Solana Meeting

AU1005091496 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 2

[Report by TASR: "Statement by the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic on Vladimir Meciar's Remarks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The Press Department of the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic has been authorized to declare that either the prime minister's sources did not inform the prime minister accurately about President Michal Kovac's talks with NATO Secretary General Mr. Javier Solana, or Vladimir Meciar, as has become a tradition, adjusted their information to his propaganda aims," says a statement issued by Vladimir Stefko, director of the Press Department of the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic. The statement reacts to Vladimir Meciar's regular Friday radio interview of 3 May, in which he said, among other things: "The president first called on NATO bodies to point out who in Slovakia is to be blamed in case we are not admitted to NATO. This is an attempt to draw an international organization into the internal problems of our state." According to Stefko, the president's question was not formulated in this way. "The president inquired about the main problems that might cause complications in our admission to NATO. And therein lies a difference of principle," the Press Department of the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic stresses in the conclusion of its statement.

Slovakia: Hungary Waging 'Slanderous' Campaign Against SR

LD0905174196 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Foreign Ministry Spokesman Juraj Matejovsky met journalists in Bratislava this morning. Editor Anna Cabakova reports:

[Cabakova] Foreign Ministry Spokesman Juraj Matejovsky opened the news conference by saying that the ministry's most important task at present was the exchange of the ratification documents of the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty.

He described the comments by Hungarian officials on the internal political situation in Slovakia as counterproductive and unacceptable. On the issue of candidates for the post of OECD secretary general, Juraj Matejovsky said:

[Begin Matejovsky recording] Hungary is waging a slanderous campaign against the Slovak Republic [SR], it is blaming the SR for the withdrawal [as heard] of

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their candidate, it is spreading disinformation that has already managed to influence international opinion.

On Monday, for example, Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said on a "Panorama" program that, soon after the deadline for the nomination of candidates had expired, Slovakia put forward a new candidate—Jan Kubis, Slovak ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva—which he [Kovacs] understood as a clear signal that Slovakia did not wish to make a decision on who will become secretary general on the basis of a consensus. This is at variance with reality. It is simply not true. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Cabakova] Juraj Matejovsky also commented on the statements made by Isvan Szent-Ivanyi, state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, that ethnic minorities in Hungary had more rights than ethnic minorities in Slovakia. Matejovsky described the statements as untrue and misleading. He also drew attention to what Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray said in an interview for the Belgian daily LE SOIR. Duray said that the Hungarian minority will soon declare territorial autonomy in Slovakia. Juraj Matejovsky regards this as extremism and a factor preventing mutual cooperation. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Helsinki Federation Criticizes Bill on Foundations

AU1005090796 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 13

[CTK report: "Criticism of Bill on Foundations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna—The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights yesterday expressed its concern over the bill on foundations, which the Slovak parliament is debating and which allegedly is at variance with the freedom of association. In a statement published in Vienna, the human rights protectors point out that the submitted bill makes it obligatory for nongovernment organizations to register with the Interior Ministry, which in turn may pass the application on to other state institutions for approval. This, according to the federation, would mean a great restriction. The federation emphasizes that the debated bill is a violation of freedom of assembly enshrined in Article 11 of the European Charter of Basic Human Rights and Freedoms and in the Copenhagen OSCE document, and asks the National Council of the Slovak Republic to reject the bill.

Slovakia: Meciar: Changes to Penal Code Amendment Possible

AU1005081796 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 2

[Report by "ns": "The Prime Minister Was Replying to Foreign Journalists' Questions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The exchange of ratification papers for the Slovak-Hungarian interstate treaty will take place at a lower level than that of the two countries' heads of diplomacy, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told a meeting organized for foreign journalists, adding that this issue was yet to be mutually agreed upon. He did not rule out Budapest as the place of the exchange, in keeping with the wish of the Hungarian side. He added that such exchanges usually took place at the level of ambassadors. "That is normal diplomatic practice. I do not understand why we ought to proceed in an exceptional manner in this case."

Regarding the controversial Penal Code amendment, which the president refused to sign, Meciar said that he recommended to his deputies that this law be shelved for the time being and that it not be discussed at the forthcoming May meeting of parliament. "Not that we would not want to support the ideas of protecting the state. We want a democratic discussion to be held, also with experts from international legal circles, so as to guarantee 100-percent inviolability of the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms." As he said, individual provisions of the law can be changed through the legislative process. "It is a matter for parliament to decide." Justifying the approval of the amendment, he said that the coalition's political entities had arrived at the opinion that there was a need for a law that would intensify the protection of the state and its security. [passage omitted]

The prime minister also reacted to the recent statement by Jan Luptak, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, that the idea of neutrality has not been been allowed to gather dust in Slovakia. He said that Luptak, chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS], was not speaking on behalf of the government. The government's orientation is clearly stated in its policy statement. "We always hold discussions after such statements and point out wherein their danger and contradictory nature lies." He admitted that differences existed among the coalition partners, "but this is not a problem for the government."

The prime minister refused to reply to a question concerning the case of the president son's kidnapping. "I am going to comment on it when the investigation

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results are known, which I do not suppose will be long," he added.

Slovakia: Meciar: Bank Privatization 'Indefinitely Shelved'

AU0905131296 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 1

[CTK report: "Privatization of Four Banks Indefinitely Shelved"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The privatization of four leading Slovak banks, originally planned for late February, has been indefinitely shelved, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told a news conference organized for foreign journalists in Bratislava yesterday. "The original concept was clarified by the end of February, but we had to delay some things and we then started to reassess the whole process," he said. A final decision has not yet been made. In January 1996, Meciar declared that Slovenska Sporitelna [Slovak Savings Bank], VUB [General Credit Bank], the IRB [Investment and Development Bank], and Slovenska Poistovna [Slovak Insurance Company] would be privatized by the end of February. The prime minister said that the project had to be delayed because of talks with the Czech Republic on the transfer of Czech shares in VUB and of Slovak assets held in the Czech Republic. "We were unable to come to an agreement with the Czech side on the privatization of VUB by the end of February," he said. "This delay resulted in the complete reassessment of the privatization concept. It is our fault."

Slovakia: Commentary Notes 'Growing Tension' in Coalition

AU0905154596 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 9

[Commentary by Julius Gembicky: "On the Prime Minister's Prognosis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the international conference "Topical Questions of the Slovak Republic's Financial Policy," Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said that the year 2000 was the earliest date for the admission of new members into the EU. In his opinion, some of the temporary domestic political problems being considered an obstacle to the Slovak Republic's entry into the EU will soon be solved.

What made the prime minister express this prognosis? The real fear, perhaps, that, because of the objections expressed in EU countries' demarches and resolutions or in talks with their envoys or statesmen we could drop out from among the candidates for admission in the first round?

For the reasons that prompted their objections and expressions of concern to disappear, however, the present style of government policy would have to be changed. At the very least, the Cold War period between the government and parliament, on the one hand, and the president of the Slovak Republic, on the other, would have to end. No less important would be to enable the opposition in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] to monitor the activity of the secret service and at least the conclusion of privatization—that is, of the fewer than 200 state companies and the four most lucrative banks and financial institutions that remain to be privatized. The coalition could also display magnanimity by its deputies agreeing to changes in the composition of media councils and approving the bill on the languages of ethnic minorities, not to mention the icing on the cake of the coalition's accommodating attitude—the speedy clarification of the abduction of the president's son to Austria.

But is it realistic to expect such a radical turn in the government coalition's policy? Hardly. The chairman of the strongest coalition entity—the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]—would be risking the possible breakup of the government coalition, which could result either in the expeditious replacement of some coalition partner or even in the calling of early parliamentary elections. And that, in the middle of the electoral term, would be a bit too much even for the inscrutable Vladimir Meciar.

What then makes him express the conviction that some temporary domestic political problems that are an obstacle to the feasibility of the Slovak Republic's candidacy for full-fledged EU membership in the first round will soon be solved? First and foremost, it is the growing external pressure on the Slovak Republic for a clean slate between the coalition partners regarding the question of the Slovak Republic's entry into NATO, so that, when meeting a delegation of the Russian State Duma, Jan Luptak, NRSR deputy chairman and Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] chairman, simply does not speak about the viability of the idea of Slovakia's neutrality while Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the NRSR Foreign Relations Committee [HZDS], speaks about the Slovak Republic heading unequivocally toward the alliance. The widening coalition gap and growing tension between the HZDS and its coalition partners, the ZRS and the Slovak National Party [SNS], from the viewpoint of the Slovak Republic's perception abroad, are also borne out by the decision of NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic not to include in the agenda of the 15th NRSR meeting in May either the much criticized Penal Code amendment or the law on territorial and administrative arrangement that was returned to the NRSR by

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the president. On the other hand, the agenda includes a report on the activity of the Slovak Information Service and a report on the activity of the Supreme Inspection Office of the Slovak Republic, which will uncover cases of law breaches in the stalled privatization, siphoning off of money [from state-owned companies] to private limited liability companies, and suspected cases of corruption in this process, as also Prime Minister Meciar indicated in his interview for Slovak Radio's Radio Journal on 6 May. This is also why one talks in the coalition lobbies more and more often about tensions between the HZDS and the ZRS in conjunction with the [rumored] dismissal of Stefan Gavornik from the post of president of the National Property Fund [FNM] Presidium and, following disagreements at the Monday session of the Coalition Council, as we have learned from well-informed sources, also about possible changes in two government posts.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 9 May on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "bog" entitled "Ivan Gasparovic Did Not Include Penal Code Amendment in NRSR Agenda." The reports states that, "in the lobbies," Gasparovic's decision not to include the controversial Penal Code amendment in the agenda of the forthcoming NRSR meeting is "regarded not only as the result of protests by domestic and foreign representatives, organizations, and institutions, but also as a sign of clash of interests within the government coalition regarding the privatization of banks." The SME report adds that "according to our information, disagreements within the coalition should soon lead to the dismissal of Stefan Gavornik from the post of FNM chief. His dismissal at the NRSR meeting requires the agreement of more than one-half of deputies present."]

Slovakia: Commentary Sees 'Strife' in Government Coalition

AU0905160096 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 9

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "The Coalition and the Orientation of Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest development in the economic, domestic, and foreign policies seems to confirm the predictions from the time of the formation of the present coalition—it has begun to hit against the natural borders formed by the lines of its individual components. Even Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar indicated as much when he explained the lag of privatization in a so-to-say offended manner and indicated that it will be necessary to renew fundamental political talks within the coalition with the objective of recovering the ability to act.

Namely, after two relatively good years, the economy is beginning to show some negative tendencies, of which the great prevalence of imports over exports is the most obvious. It is difficult to decide whether it is a favorable phenomenon given by the restructuring process in production—that is, by imports of equipment—or an increase in imports of consumer goods to satisfy citizens so that their attention is distracted from the daily political skirmishes.

The strife within the coalition regarding the issue of the privatization of the banking sphere apparently can lead, despite denials by the coalition representatives, to its end, or possibly to the replacement of some inconvenient people, particularly from the Association of Workers of Slovakia, which seems to have discovered its growing value and has began to show it.

The cogovernment of the Association of Workers of Slovakia is reflected even in foreign policy. Contrary to the government policy, during the talks with deputies of the Russian state Duma Foreign Committee, Jan Luptak mused aloud about the idea of Slovak neutrality. This, despite the prime minister confirming the euro-atlantic orientation of Slovakia in talks with NATO political leader Javier Solana and the present adviser to President Clinton and former envoy for Bosnia, Richard Holbrooke, just a few days ago.

The prime minister and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] does not seem to have an easy position even within his own movement. Deputy Roman Hofbauer prepared a real "beating" for the Austrian vice chancellor and foreign minister on the pages of a progovernment daily. Because of such publishing activities of HZDS officials, no one could hold it against Wolfgang Schuessel if he did not provide Bratislava with the promised assistance regarding the integration into the EU.

Another author in the same daily, hiding under an easily identifiable pseudonym, suspects the entire West of intending to throw Slovakia again in the clutches of its southern neighbor as a part of its endeavors to revise Trianon. One does not even need to mention that NATO's objective is, according to him, that Vladimir Meciar should fall victim to the Atlantic endeavors of Slovakia. This political schizophrenia testifies to the present Slovak Government team being not at all clear regarding what it wants for its state, although it realizes that a small country with a population of a mere 5 million does not stand a chance of stable, long-term economic and thereby also political development without a firm affiliation. If Vladimir Meciar does not bring order to his own ranks very fast, it could happen that the economic miracle will change into the opposite,

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and politically into a boomerang. The path along which he started in November 1994 is extensively exhausted unless he has different goals and plans, which do not at all correspond to those proclaimed. Their price, however, could be very high.

Slovakia: Poll Shows Government Least Trusted Institution

AU1005093896 Bratislava SME in Slovak 9 May 96 p 2

[Report by "r": "Army Enjoys Most Trust, the Government Least"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Army remains the most trustworthy institution in Slovakia. In the April poll conducted by Slovak Radio's Methodological and Research Department, trust in the Army was expressed by seven out of 10 respondents. A total of 1,176 respondents were asked to determine to what degree they trusted each of the 12 institutions offered them. After adding up the replies "completely trust" and "trust more than distrust," the following ranking emerged:

1. Army (70.2 percent)
2. Slovak Radio news (67.1 percent)
3. Constitutional Court chairman (65.8 percent)
4. Slovak Television news (56.5 percent)
5. Constitutional Court (56.5 percent)
6. National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] chairman (55.8) percent
7. President (47.8 percent)
8. Police (47.8 percent)
9. Prime Minister (44.8 percent)
10. Courts and Prosecutor's Office (44.1 percent)
11. NRSR (43.3 percent)
12. Government (42.9 percent)

Slovakia: Army Restarts Training of Reserve Troops

AU1005104396 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 May 96 p 3

[Report by "pv": "The Army Already Trains the Reserves"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Trencin—Starting this week, after a five-year pause, the training of reserve troops was renewed. Colonel Eng. Tomas Svec, spokesman of the Slovak Army General Staff, informed us that the Army plans to call 2,036 reserve soldiers for military exercises in 1996. The aforementioned total of reservists includes 757 warrant officers and officers. The exercises are planned in stages from 6 May to 29 November, with an interruption during the holiday months. Except for one instance, the reserve soldiers will be called for 12 days. [passage omitted]

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Hungary: Committee Discusses U.S. IFOR Troops' 'Future'

LD0905163296 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 May 96

[From the "Chronicle" report]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry's so-called IFOR [Implementation Force] committee has been discussing the future of the U.S. IFOR units stationed in Hungary, as well as a sexual harassment case. Levente Suekoesd reports.

[Suekoesd] At its current session, the interministerial committee is examining a proposal by the U.S. Administration to incorporate partial bilateral agreements concluded so far in a comprehensive intergovernmental agreement, Laszlo Borsits, deputy defense state secretary, said during a break in the session. The comprehensive agreement would incorporate earlier agreements on the stationing and transit of IFOR troops, on the settlement of damages to the local population, and on customs and VAT matters. The majority of claims in connection with vehicles have already been settled, while other compensation matters are being dealt with, the deputy state secretary said.

In reply to a question asked by Chronicle, Laszlo Borsits said that employment problems—more precisely, the matter of harassment of Hungarian female employees—had also been raised at the meeting. The committee has sent a letter to the U.S. contact group appealing that it investigate the cases and report to the interministerial committee on the findings.

Hungary: Official Praises Role of Regional Cooperation

AU0905151296 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 May 96 p 11

[Interview with Gyula Braun, ministry commissioner in charge of regional cooperation, by Andras Klein; place and date not given: "Regional Cooperation Is Part of Integration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Intergovernmental and border area cooperation facilitates Hungary's integration and the economic development of the regions in question. It is important for a state to help initiatives coming from below both legally and politically, Gyula Braun, ministry commissioner in charge of regional cooperation, told us in his interview on this subject.

[Klein] Hungary is participating in several regional cooperation projects. What are the advantages of this cooperation?

[Braun] Regional cooperation in Central and East Europe started late, after the change in the regime. I am referring to cooperation forms that, on the one hand, facilitate the euro-atlantic integration of the countries in this region and, on the other hand, contribute to the reorganization of bilateral relations on democratic principles. The Central Europe Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) is a good example of this, and its current members—the Visegrad countries and Slovenia—are endeavoring to abolish the trade obstacles at an accelerated pace by the turn of the century. Thus, 80 percent of the industrial products are already free of customs duties, and agricultural customs have already dropped by 50 percent. This is also important for us because our economic contacts with the countries in this region deteriorated after 1989.

CEFTA is playing an important role in the integration process, because its basic principles are identical with the EU efforts. With the exception of manpower market liberalization (the conditions for this are not yet given), the main goal of this cooperation is to create a free flow of goods, capital, and services. Without creating any independent organization, these processes contribute to the member states' integration efforts.

[Klein] The Central European Initiative [CEI] is another important intergovernmental regional cooperation form. To what extent does the CEI contribute to Hungary's integration efforts?

[Braun] Since the Triest summit in 1994, the CEI has been clearly endeavoring to facilitate the integration of its member states, and this has been the organization's declared main task ever since. By sharing their experiences, two EU members—Italy and Austria—can provide the most help to the states that signed an association agreement with the EU, as well as to member states that are relatively more distant from integration. The CEI itself will probably continue to expand in the near future, and it is expected to have 15-17 members.

The CEI signed a cooperation agreement with the EBRD in 1991. Several professional training programs are under way in the framework of this cooperation, programs connected with legal harmonization and economic issues. The CEI is interested in developing a trans-European transportation and energy network, and it supports the construction of the Triest-Budapest-Kiev corridor as well as the Durres-Skopje corridor. The CEI started its own program aimed at working out a Europe-conform traffic statistics system, as well as developing the combined transportation. With the Information and Documentation Center that recently opened in Triest, the CEI is assisting the reconstruction of two of its member states—Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. These are only a few examples, because the CEI currently has 18

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work committees that can also be convened on a ministerial level if necessary. At present, Hungary fulfills the position of chairman of the CEI's Minority and Migration Workgroup.

[Klein] Many counties in Hungary are active in various border area cooperation actions. To what extent are the legal conditions given for such cooperation forms in our region?

[Braun] The level of border area and interregional cooperation depends on the level of development of the given country's system of democratic institutions. The Hungarian constitution and the law on local government make it possible for our local government bodies to establish international contacts and join international regional organizations at their own decision. There are no political, legal, or administrative obstacles hindering this. From this point of view, this region shows a heterogeneous picture. The conditions are given in most neighboring countries, like Austria, Slovenia, Coatia, and Ukraine. Elsewhere, however, they still lack the central political will or the necessary legal background.

From the viewpoint of regional cooperation, it is important that, according to the decision of the Maastrich agreement, the EU created a committee of the regions, a committee that has a favorable effect on regional cooperation. It can be the local means of adequate cooperation and modernization at the local government level, it can contribute to solving economic problems and, at the same time, it can play a confidence-strengthening and conflict-managing role.

[Klein] What new regional cooperation projects have started recently?

[Braun] I would mention the intergovernmental program that emerged in the wake of the Hungarian-Austrian-Slovak prime ministerial summit in July 1995, a program that opens up possibilities of economic development in the Vienna-Gyor-Bratislava area. The Danube-Maros-Tisza regional cooperation is another example of such a new initiative. According to plans, the program will include Csongrad, Bekes, Bacs-Kiskun, and Szolnok counties from Hungary, the Vojvodina Autonomous Region from Yugoslavia, and Arad and Temes counties from Romania. This program affects a region in which economic and cultural contacts have been stagnating for years because of the Yugoslav war. It is also important that, with its own means, this cooperation could contribute to strengthening confidence and to stability.

Hungary: IAP Sexual Harassment Cases To Be Investigated

AU0905145296 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 May 96 p 20

[Unattributed report: "Harassment in Taszar Is Being Investigated—Graffiti Writer To Be Reported to Police for Defacement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The AP news agency report created indignation in Taszar and Kaposvar: Female Hungarian workers are being sexually harassed by employees of IAP (International American Products), which does the catering for the U.S. Implementation Force soldiers. IAP Chairman Doyle T. McBride announced that all cases would be investigated, because they consider it important to clear up the cases.

Friction between the U.S. and Hungarian staff started in early April. As a result, a trade union was formed by the Hungarian employees at the military base. The IAP was unable to agree with the trade union in the wage dispute, because the American side felt that the Hungarian employees were earning good salaries compared to those in domestic catering. According to some opinions, news of the harassment emerged following the unsuccessful wage negotiations. The rumor spreading in town about U.S. kitchen chief's sudden illness and his AIDS test in Pecs must have served similar purposes. It was said that panic started in Kaposujlak, and it only got worse when the kitchen chief was sent back to the United States. His AIDS test was actually negative, and he had to leave because of inflammation of the pancreas.

The graffiti on the wall opposite the Kaposvar home of the IAP manager is a new development. The unknown author wrote: "Yankees, why did you not come in 1956 instead?" According to our information, the IAP's Hungarian solicitor has filled out a police report on the damage.

Hungary: FIDESZ, KDNP Hold Talks on Cooperation

AU0905135596 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 May 96 p 4

[Report by "Zs.A.": "FIDESZ, KDNP: The Goal Is the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Viktor Orban, chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [FIDESZ-MPP], and Gyorgy Giczy, chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the country now is in a worse situation than two years ago, and therefore the time has come for the opposition to start to work out a joint alternative

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that could lead to an election alliance. After an almost two-hour long discussion, the executive committees of the two parties decided to set up two working groups.

After the talks held at FIDESZ headquarters, Giczy said that the timing of the meeting was no accident, and relations between the opposition parties have come to a new phase. The emphasis now has to be placed on program-type cooperation, whose goal is a possible election alliance. In his view, the current government coalition is only held together by the possession of power. Therefore, the time has come for the opposition to start to draw up an alternative. The executive committees of the FIDESZ and the KDNP decided to set up a family policy working group and another to review the situation of entrepreneurs.

According to Orban, they agreed that the past two years have been a very difficult period for Hungarian society and the country now is in a worse situation than two years ago. In Orban's view, the issue of families can be one of the most successful areas of cooperation. Neither of the party leaders denied that they have and will have debates but, as they said, their goal, after coordinating their programs, is to find joint solutions in the framework of election cooperation.

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B-H: UK, Japan Unveil $3.3 Million Economic Aid Program

AU0905170896 Paris AFP in English 1657 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, May 9 (AFP)—Britain and Japan unveiled Thursday an economic assistance programme for Bosnia's shattered energy infrastructure which implies extensive cooperation between the two entities in the former Yugoslav republic.

British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker and Japanese envoy Masabumi Sato announced that the two countries would provide more than five million marks (3.3 million dollars) between them to restore electricity supplies to the whole of the energy-starved country.

"We hope that the project will start literally in a week or two and that the transmission line will be completed and running in September," Baronness Chalker said.

The project, which Britain and Japan will fund equally, plans to link the severed electricity lines between government-held Tuzla in the northeast and Serb-held Banja Luka further west, and between Serb-held Trebinje in the southeast and government-held Bihac in the northwest.

As such, the scope for cooperation between the Moslem-Croat federation and the Bosnian-Serb entity could be great.

"This is the first project of inter-entity cooperation, and is one of the tasks we have been carrying out for the reintegration of the country and the reconciliation of the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Bosnian Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic said.

"The project will benefit the entirety of the peoples of Bosnia and from there it will be up to the people," said Sato, who is attached to the Japanese embassy in Vienna with a special remit on former Yugoslavia. "We can only help you to help yourselves."

Power lines in both entities were heavily damaged during Bosnia's three-and-a-half-year war, and supplies, which were often non-existent during the conflict, are still fitful and irregular even now.

The engineers of Chalker's Overseas Development Administration (ODA) that has been helping Bosnia to restore utilities throughout the conflict, will work on the project together with local experts. British soldiers of the NATO-led peace implementation force (IFOR) will also participate.

"The British contribution is a part of a 12-million-pound (18-million-dollar) aid for immediate restoration of essential utilities in Bosnia," Chalker said.

Later Thursday, the United States signed an agreement with Bosnian authorities to provide the former Yugoslav republic with 182 million dollars' worth of grants for the restoration and reconstruction of utilities and other municipal services.

US Ambassador to Bosnia John Menzies said after the signing ceremony that the agreement was "both an indicator of strong US commitment in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and an expression of our confidence in the peace process."

B-H: UN's Rehn Calls For New Conference on Bosnia

LD0905161996 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1320 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The UN human rights rapporteur, Elisabeth Rehn, has proposed a new peace agreement for all parties in Bosnia. Rehn says that the current Dayton peace treaty is insufficient, because the enmity between the parties in Bosnia has intensified to a dangerous degree.

[Begin Rehn recording] The time is soon coming for a Dayton II, because there are so many loose ends along this entire process. We must now organize a major conference on this because otherwise we will face enormous problems. [end recording]

Rehn adds that the investigation into the fate of civilians who went missing in the Bosnian war is not progressing because the Bosnian Government has lately put forward new conditions for the investigative work. For the same reason, a project to send a Finnish body identification group to Bosnia has also foundered.

B-H: NATO, UN Court Sign Agreement on War Crimes Suspects

AU0905160896 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, May 9 (AFP)—The UN court investigating war crimes in former Yugoslavia signed an agreement Thursday with NATO outlining what the peace force in Bosnia should do to bring suspected war criminals to justice, NATO said in a statement.

The accord, fine-tuned over a period of months, details the role the NATO-led peace Implementation Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina (IFOR) should play in arresting

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individuals suspected of committing atrocities, but crucially does not oblige IFOR to take further steps to track down suspects, the NATO statement said.

Instead the pact establishes a code of conduct for the 60,000-strong peace force with respect to making arrests, detaining suspects and transferring them to the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague.

It stresses that IFOR is not obliged to hunt down the 54 Serbs, Croats and Moslems from Bosnia and three federal Yugoslav officers indicted by the court, but merely states that the peace force will arrest suspects if it comes into contact with them as it performs routine tasks.

As such, the agreement would appear to be a mere restatement of IFOR's mandate as outlined in the Dayton peace accords.

"IFOR will continue to support as fully as possible the ICTY (and) provide surveillance of sites which are of interest" to the court, NATO said in its statement in a reference to the suspected mass graves dotted around Bosnia which are expected to provide vital evidence in the prosecution of indictees.

IFOR has been repeatedly criticised for failing to bring indictees to justice. The prosecution of suspected war criminals is considered a vital element of overall efforts to implement peace in Bosnia, but so far, just five indictees have been delivered to The Hague.

One of these, General Djordje Djukic, has since been released on health grounds, but another indicted suspect, Serb Goran Lajic, left Germany Thursday for the Netherlands to face charges.

The first suspect to be arrested, Dusan Tadic, went on trial Tuesday.

But indicted Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic remain at large, to the concern of senior US and European officials trying to organise free and fair elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina over the next four months.

In Vienna on Thursday, US envoy Robert Frowick, the head of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission in Bosnia, said he was concerned at the continuing influence of Karadzic and Mladic within the Bosnian Serb entity.

"Their presence from the very beginning has been deleterious to the implementation of the peace agreement," Frowick said.

OSCE Chairman in Office Flavio Cotti meanwhile hit out at the failure to arrest suspected war criminals, saying it was hampering OSCE efforts to organise elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The fact that they (the indictees) remain complicates the process of creating a climate without violence and intimidation which is a prerequisite for the holding of elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina," the Swiss foreign minister said in a statement.

The ICTY itself has bitterly reproached Belgrade for refusing to cooperate with the tribunal and is trying to set up a mission in Serbia and Montenegro to enable it to carry out its inquiries in the two republics that form the rump Yugoslavia.

On Thursday, ICTY deputy prosecutor Graham Blewitt said after talks with rump Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic that such an office would be opened sometime next week.

B-H: Muratovic on 'Special Significance' of U.S. Aid Project

LD0905215996 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] John Menzies, U.S. ambassador to Bosnia- Herzegovina, and the prime ministers of the federation and the republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], Izudin Kapetanovic and Hasan Muratovic, have signed the final document which will enable the realization of a U.S. donation to the tune of $198 million for the reconstruction of Bosnia this year. The value of the agreement signed today is $23 million. The money is intended for the repair of infrastructure at the level of municipalities.

[Begin Muratovic recording] The project we signed today has a special significance because it allows municipalities to solve some of their elementary problems speedily. All these signatures have created a huge obligation for all of us and for many people in companies and municipalities, who must take an active part in creating programs. [end recording]

The basic principle for being granted funds is that the municipality ensures respect for basic human rights and laws. Only firms from the territory of the federation will be employed to do the work financed by this program. The money will be deposited in the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Fred Buck, director of the U.S. aid for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ambassador Menzies expressed his satisfaction with the exceptional cooperation with the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina thus far and said: This is an expression of our faith in the peace process, as well as our obligation to be a good partner to this country and its citizens.

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B-H: Federation Minister Views Talks on Army, U.S. Mediation

AU0905192296 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 96 p 10

[Interview with Bosnian Federation Defense Minister Vladimir Soljic by Mirjana Micevska; place and date not given: "One Army, Two Masters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the recently signed Sarajevo agreement on the vitalization of the Federation, the Ministry of Defense, that is, its heads, were obliged to finally prepare the Law on the Defense of the Federation. The deadline for this task passed a long time ago. The law, in several alternative forms, that is, without the federal partners agreeing upon certain issues, was even on the agenda of the constituent assembly, but.... It was rejected until a time when the issues will be agreed upon.

The tasks regarding the law progressed quite slowly, but the diametrically opposing stances of the governing parties, the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], were the reason why James Pardew, the U.S. negotiator, was included in the preparation of the law. To be more precise, he was included to reconcile the positions. Federation Defense Minister Vladimir Soljic said the following about the presence of the U.S. mediator.

The Serving of Military Service

[Soljic] The talks on the law lasted a week, and certain progress was made. At the start of the meeting, however, we agreed that the problems will be taken care of entirely, in a package.

[Micevska] What is controversial and why is the assistance of a third party necessary?

[Soljic] Two issues were controversial: the civilian command of the army and the right to chose the component in which one serves one's military service. An agreement was reached regarding the civilian command of the Federation army. Namely, we agreed upon the fact that one representative from the Croat and one from the Bosniak nation are both to have the authority that is foreseen by the Dayton agreement for the members of the future presidency. These representatives are to make decisions regarding the military use of the Federation army.

[Micevska] The issue of doing military service has been the constant obstacle, and it seems that it has not been resloved even after U.S. mediation. The issue really involves the right to choose the component in which one will serve; in the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] or in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, regarding the fact that these units will be kept even after the formation of the federal army. The units up to the corp level will be kept. What will happen now?

[Soljic] That is true. This problem has not been resolved, even after the talks. The Bosniak side is linking this issue to things that cannot be controversial and that have already been agreed in Dayton—a united Federation army is to be established above the level of the corps.

[Micevska] What is the Croat side insisting upon?

[Soljic] The Croat side considers that the right to choose the component need not even be made if the part of the Dayton agreement regarding the reintegration of the of the Federation army is accepted. If the components—that is, the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina—do exist up to the corps level, then they need personnel.

Outside Pressure

If two military components, the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, exist, then a draftee can decide in which of the two he will serve. However, this does not mean that if, for instance, a Croat will want to serve in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he will be prevented from doing so. On the other hand, there are also Serbs in the Federation, as well as children from mixed marriages, and this has to be taken into consideration.

[Micevska] As things stand at present, it seems that the law on defense will not even be on the agenda of the next assembly session.

[Soljic] Most probably not. I must say that we made a certain compromise regarding the solution to the problem of the civilian command of the army, but in return we expected that the Bosniak side will not cause problems regarding the choice of the component in which one can serve.

[Micevska] Does this now mean that the negotiations and agreements regard the law of the defense of the Federation are stuck?

[Soljic] Well, in a way, yes. However, we must get out of this situation as soon as possible. I expect that each of the sides will make the effort, even with the assistance of mediators—and of arbiters, if necessary—and that a solution will be found.

[Micevska] Many issues regarding the eventual consequences of the slowness of the drafting of the aforementioned law, certain responsibilities that come from the Sarajevo agreement, as well as the possibility of solving the controversial issues by outside pressure, have all remained unresolved. However, Minister Soljic openly

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states that a number of things connected with this newly created situation are not totally clear to him.

An Unnecessary Affair

[Micevska] The news that the HDZ leaders are to be given 28 HVO ranks [as published] has aroused great public interest recently. It is true that you are not among the suggested candidates, however, what do you think of this move toward the militarization of the HDZ, so to say?

[Soljic] At the time of the act of aggression against Croatia, the Croats faced no dilemma over who the aggressor was and what his intentions were.

The resistance against the aggressor was not by an organized army. If we speak of the Croat corps, then this resistance was literally by civilians, lead by the political leadership. For example, there was not one military person in Siroki Breg at the start of the aggression.

[Micevska] What does this really mean?

[Soljic] In that phase, the heads of the local governments and parties were, at the same time, some kind of military commanders. Based on that, they would probably be entitled to some military rank.

An unnecessary affair is being created out of this, and all to increase the circulation of the newspapers.

These ranks are really honorary and do not come with any privileges, neither material nor social. The HVO has completed fixing the ranks within its formations.

B-H: Izetbegovic, UNHCR's Ogata Discuss Refugee Return

AU0905185496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic today received a UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] delegation headed by Sadako Ogata. During today's visit, Mrs. Ogata acquainted President Izetbegovic with UNHCR activities. The organization assessed that some 70,000 people have returned to their homes in Bosnia-Herzegovina following the signing of the peace agreement. This number is increasing daily, Sadako Ogata said at the news conference held in Sarajevo today. She stressed that the return was mostly spontaneous, and that the greatest number of returnees was registered in the areas of Mrkonjic Grad, Sipovo, Bihac, Odzak, Tuzla, and Orasje.

Ogata said that the UNHCR budget for the reconstruction of houses this year amounts to $70 million, but that only $50 million has been collected so far. This is just a drop in the ocean; this country needs billions of dollars for reconstruction. However, it will be quite a test of for us to try to put the $70 million [words indistinct]. Ogata stressed that plastic foil on windows in Sarajevo was being replaced with glass, which is another indication that the war is over. However, this is only the first step. People need to be provided with doors, windows, and other things so that they go back home. Even this is insufficient for return. People need to trust each other, Ogata stressed. She added that, in this context, freedom of movement was particularly significant, [words indistinct].

As a first step in securing freedom of movement, the UNHCR proposed short-term visits by refugees to their homes in the other entity, which would make it possible to gauge the mood for return. We have had some success in the past few weeks, but we have also encountered serious difficulties. We have [words indistinct] governments of both entities how to organize such visits, Ogata said. She stressed that the return of refugees will be an extremely tough job, and that, in this phase, the UNHCR is focusing its efforts on returning refugees to those areas where their ethnic group is in the majority. At the same time, the UNHCR insists on refugee visits from one entity to another. We have pledged to do everything to restore Bosnia-Herzegovina's multiethnic essence, but I must say that this will depend on the will of political leaders and ordinary people. We cannot be a surrogate for their will, but we shall do everything in our power, Ogata said.

B-H: Minister Sees Federation as 'Unified Trade Space'

AU0905124796 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 96 p 5

[Report by ONASA: "Barriers Have Been Removed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nikola Grabovac, minister of trade in the government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said that the Bosniak-Croat Federation was a unified trade space, which could not be limited by regulations of any canton or municipality.

"I have seen for myself these days that in Bosnia-Herzegovina there is not a single barrier left. The federal customs administration has begun to function in full," Minister Grabovac said. According to him, the next stage in activities of the federal Ministry for Trade is cooperation with the so-called Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"There will certainly be objective problems, but trade will certainly be the initial stage in the process of reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Minister Grabovac said.

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B-H: Gen Delic Addresses Military Education Conference

AU0905155396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 May 96

[Report by Sureja Kovacevic on a military conference entitled "The Concept of Military Schooling," held by the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo on 9 April—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kovacevic] At the start of the conference, Bosnia-Herzegovina General Staff Commander General Rasim Delic addressed the participants, and said:

[Delic] The principles on which military education should be based must include the experiences we had in this war. As I am acquainted with the doctrines of both the West and the East, I would say that no doctrine is a [word indistinct] doctrine. During the war we transcended much of the doctrines that are in use both in the West and East. That is why our experiences, the battles and operations that are strategically significant, should be incorporated into the doctrine that we decide on, even if it is a western doctrine. We should base our defense strategy on this. Because of the circumstances of our (?struggle), we were forced to deal with many things in a different way, we had to find far more efficient solutions in conditions [words indistinct] lack of funds.

[Kovacevic] Commenting on the concept and development of military education, deputy federation Defense Minister Hasan Cengic said:

[Cengic] Our country is a specific case. That is why we must find specific ways of internal and external organization, and base our defense strategy on this. This strategy must reflect the country's specific features. Our defense and education strategy must therefore be specifically [words indistinct].

As far as military education is concerned, we must keep in mind that the aim of military education is not to school officers, generals, and admirals, but to train the people. We are a small country and a small people. Only the individual ability of each and every citizen to resist and defend himself, his neighborhood, and his country can yield results. We are not a superpower, and we will probably not be a more significant military power for a long time to come; therefore, we cannot exclusively rely on professional units, (?power), and technology. That is why our greatest strength lies in finding a way to train each citizen and patriot to a degree that will make them [words indistinct].

B-H: Gen Delic Opens New Barracks in Celic

AU0805175596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] As a part of his working visit to the 2d Army Corps, Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff, visited Celic today, where he ceremonially opened the [word indistinct] barracks. On that occasion, Gen. Delic addressed the residents of Celic and the soldiers of the [word indistinct] Glorious Brigade and stressed the obligations that are forthcoming in the present stage of transformation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from a war-time to a peace-time [word indistinct]. The ceremony was attended by Brigadier General [word indistinct] Sabic, Brigadier (?Sead Delic), and the leading men of Celic Municipality.

B-H: Interior Minister Expects 'Fewer' Federation Police

AU0605154196 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 96 p 3

[Report by ONASA: "The Number of 'Federation Police Officers' Will Decrease"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 5 May—Avdo Hebib, interior minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, said that the Bonn agreement on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation envisaged fewer federal police officers.

"This does not mean that there will be fewer police officers than we had before the war. The number of police officers on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is determined by international standards in accordance with the size of the population," Minister Hebib said. According to Hebib, reserve police units were mobilized in 1992, when an attack on Bosnia-Herzegovina was expected.

"That is why the number of police officers in our Interior Ministry increased during the war. Now that the cease-fire has been signed, we have to go back to where we started. However, we shall have to modify things somewhat and form units that will always be ready to fight terrorism," Minister Hebib said.

B-H: OSCE Election Rules 'Grossly Violate' Dayton Principles

AU0805170396 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 96 p 2

[Report by ONASA: "Orchestrated Dissatisfaction"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recently published Rules and Regulations of the OSCE Temporary Electoral

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Commission headed by U.S. Ambassador Robert Frowick have resulted in great political confusion in the federal part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Extremely negative reactions have erupted from the domestic political parties, primarily over the section of the rules that regulates the methods of voter registration.

The ruling and opposition parties, no matter what irreconcilable opponents they may be, are in total agreement on one issue: The proposed rules legalize the results of aggression and ethnic cleansing, as they are aimed against the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes, and thus grossly violate the basic idea of the Dayton peace agreement. Three crucial solutions in the document elicited unanimous, almost orchestrated dissatisfaction from local political factors: the possibility that Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens might participate in the elections in towns where they were not residents before the war; the possibility that citizens who are not on the 1991 electoral rolls might nevertheless vote; and finally the most controversial regulation, which grants "refugees and displaced persons who do not wish to return to their homes the right to vote in the municipality in which they intend to live in the future." In the opinion of domestic party leaders, these regulations legalize or at least encourage the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, change the demographic and national structure of the population, and annul the basic principle according to which refugees and displaced persons have the right to return to their homes.

B-H: Casado Sets Deadline for Candidates in Mostar Elections

AU0905122996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar European Administrator Ricardo Perez Casado has made the decision that elections for the Mostar City Council and the Council of Six Mostar Municipalities should be held on Friday, 31 May 1966. According to the provisions of the Law on the Elections for Councilors and Deputies of the Assembly of Sociopolitical Communities, candidate lists must be submitted to electoral commissions at least 20 days prior to the day designated for elections, which means that the last day for submitting candidate lists is 10 May 1996.

B-H: UN Spokesman: Tension Very High in Sarajevo's Dobrinja

AU0905131396 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, May 9 (AFP)—Tension is running high in the last Sarajevo suburb split between Moslems and Serbs after Bosnia's former warring factions failed again to agree to changes to the boundary line, a UN spokesman said Thursday [9 May].

Several gunshots had been fired in recent days in Dobrinja, a shattered suburb of Sarajevo adjacent to the airport, although no one has been killed, said the spokesman, Alexander Ivanko.

"Tension in Dobrinja is very high," he added.

Negotiators from the Moslem-Croat federation and the Serb republic, the two entities that make up post-war Bosnia, met Wednesday at NATO headquarters at Ilidza, west of Sarajevo.

But they failed to make progress toward finalising the boundary that runs for more than 1,000 kilometres (600 miles) through Bosnia, NATO spokesman Simon Haselock said.

The chief of staff of the Allied Rapid Reaction Corps, Major General Michael Willcocks, who had chaired the meeting, said he hoped for some progress Thursday.

But failing progress, the negotiations would be passed on to the responsibility of NATO's top commander in Bosnia, U.S. Admiral Leighton Smith, [and] the top civilian coordinator for the peace process, Carl Bildt, Haselock said.

The NATO spokesman said both Serb and Moslem-Croat negotiators are ignoring the anxiety that uncertainty about the exact route of the boundary is causing for people in Dobrinja and in other places around Bosnia where the exact course of the line is still in dispute.

For most of its course, the boundary line follows the route of the old frontlines that were established during the three-and-a-half year war.

When the line was originally drawn at peace negotiations in Dayton, Ohio, last November, around 400 sites were disputed by the various parties, ranging from deciding whether a well or house should lie in one entity or another to disputes about the "ownership" of entire villages.

In Dobrinja, the line drawn at Dayton passes through apartment blocks, splitting some people's flats in two, leaving some rooms in one political entity and other rooms in the other.

As well as Dobrinja, the contentious points on the line still include the fate of a series of villages around Zvornik, eastern Bosnia, and the future of a handful of villages in northern Bosnia near the Croat-held town of Orasje, a NATO official said.

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B-H: Foreign Military Presence Considered Nation's 'Fate'

AU0705170996 Ljubljana SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 96 p 7

[Commentary by Vlastimir Mijovic: "A Firefighter's Mandate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] International protectorate seems to be Bosnia-Herzegovina's fate. The only remaining dilemmas pertain to the ways, names, duration, and success of foreign military-political engagement.

It seems that the international military mandate is the issue currently under discussion. No one should be surprised that the groundwork is already being laid for a protracted presence of foreign troops on the ground, irrespective of the name. This started the moment the Implementation Force [IFOR] was formed and deployed in Bosnia. Someone must have misunderstood Richard Holbrooke when the architect of the Dayton accords warned that, as soon as IFOR completes its one-year mandate, Croatia and Serbia would annex parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The American was not sanctioning Belgrade's and Zagreb's move in advance, he was opening the way for immediately starting work on a project of protracted international military presence in a country threatened by partition. The words of this pirate of U.S. diplomacy are much clearer today because we are witnessing lively diplomatic activity aimed at extending IFOR's mandate.

Assumptions, prognosis, and rumors of the kind were made official by Euro-Commissioner Hans van den Broek. He publicly came out with the idea of "Europe forming new military forces which would take over IFOR's mandate next year." The explanation is that without international military presence, the civilian reconstruction in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be called into question.

It is easy to agree with Van den Broek. Since there is no serious progress in the civilian part, even with IFOR's presence, what would happen to Bosnia if there were no foreign soldiers. The war would flare up again. The international forces have the job of preventing; following the troop and armament withdrawal into barracks and warehouses in April, they have more or less already established a situation in which it would be very hard to rekindle serious military conflicts. Pentagon strategists believe that in the time it would take to move the troops and heavy weapons, IFOR would have ample time to prepare the necessary response and prevent new bloodshed.

The international troops have almost made impossible the rekindling of war operations, but on the other hand, they have not speeded up the peace process. The ensuing dissatisfaction is primarily caused by the nonacceptance of the fact that IFOR is not in Bosnia to build peace but to prevent war, and in this sense, irrespective of current domestic criticism, it is doing a good job. Misunderstandings of this kind ensue from the nature of the foreign military mandate. And this nature is not defined by generals but by foreign politicians. That is why pressure and suggestions should be addressed to them. Since it is already clear that the international military presence will continue after 20 December of this year, and since this gives us enough time, it is necessary to channel domestic political energy into creating, and even extorting a different type of military engagement. Particularly since judging by the information available so far, the world again envisages it as a firefighting engagement. The only difference is in the number, operations, and nationality of the international contingent. Europeans should replace the currently dominant Americans.

The essence is probably hidden in last year's Dayton events. Speedy and competent military supervision was needed to stop the war, and at that point, only the United States could provide it with the necessary speed. It agreed to the role, but only for a strictly limited period of time in which its soldiers would guard Bosnia. Everyone agreed to a 12-month, and in terms of time obviously insufficient, U.S.-IFOR period, only because it was immediately agreed that, in the meantime, Europe would form and prepare its own forces for a long-term firefighting mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This would enable Clinton to keep the promise given to the nation, namely, that U.S. boys would be celebrating next Christmas at home, while at the same time ensuring that Bosnia is not left in the lurch, without necessary foreign military supervision. Quite simply, Europe would replace the United States. It would create a military contingent which would take over the task today performed by IFOR. Events leading to 20 December will probably be just a chronicle of the implementation of a decision already taken. IFOR will turn into EFOR, or something with a similar name, and will remain in Bosnia for years to come. However, what we should not accept, and should politically and diplomatically work on in a dogged and energetic manner, is to try to change the nature of foreign military presence. The firefighting must be replaced by peacemaking. This is likely to happen if the United States and Europe really want to help strengthen an integral, democratic, multiethnic, and peaceful Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Unfortunately, there is little concrete confirmation of this orientation, and that is why there is reason to fear

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that the next international military contingent will only have the function of a war shock absorber rather than the much needed peace animator.

B-H: Sarajevo Firm Signs Contract With Zagreb Oil Company

AU0205191196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation from the Ina stock company from Zagreb, led by director general Andrija (?Kojakovic) visited today Energoinvest company. The prominent guests from Zagreb were received by director general Edin Bukvic with aides.

In the course of the visit, open and friendly business talks were held on a series of topics of common interest. A contract on long-term business cooperation was also signed. In it, mutual interest is defined in the field of research, the production and sale of oil, oil derivatives, and petrochemical products, and other products and services offered by both partners, on the markets of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and also third countries. In a protocol that was also signed today, joint steps to be taken by the renowned partners are very clearly defined, while it should be particularly stressed that INA will be regularly supplying Energoinvest with its products and Energoinvest will be supplying the Croatian market with its products. The partners will be taking efficient steps with their respective state authorities to make sure that all the property owned by Ina and Energoinvest-Energopetrol will be controlled by its respective owners, that is, Ina and Energoinvest-Energopetrol. The parties to the contract express their interest and readiness to share the storage space owned by Energopetrol in the port of Ploce, as well as other storage capacities in which both partners are interested. This and a series of other questions will be discussed at another meeting to be held soon in Zagreb.

B-H: Tudjman-Karadzic Meeting Said To Focus on Refugees

AU0905203696 Sarajevo SLOBODNA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 96 pp 5-6

[Article by Senad Avdic: "You Have a House, Send the Refugees Back!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Franjo Tudjman and Radovan Karadzic met in Croatia on 28 April. We learned this from very reliable and authoritative international sources (and it was later confirmed by sources in the Serbian entity). This is certainly one of the biggest political scandals in the past several months. The technical problems of their meeting were solved by putting "Herzeg-Bosnian" license plates on the car in which Karadzic entered Croatia. However, despite all the precautions, it is difficult to believe that Karadzic was not recognized by the numerous IFOR [Implementation Force] soldiers monitoring that region, since one of their most important tasks is to arrest Karadzic and extradite him to The Hague.

The Karadzic-Tudjman meeting certainly raises numerous questions—from the topic of their conversation to exactly when it took place. There cannot be a single common topic for Tudjman and Karadzic that does not include Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather its division—something they had discussed before Karadzic became a war criminal. When we consider the "factor of time" (of the conversation), obviously the most important topic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (since Bosnia-Herzegovina was the only possible topic of their conversation) is the wish of several hundred thousands of its citizens to return to their homes. That is exactly what the two statesmen might have talked about, or even helped each other with.

30,000 Serbs Want To Enter the Federation

Every time the international community became more seriously involved in Croatia, it stipulated that Tudjman was enabling the Serb refugees from Croatia to return to their homes. During the past few weeks, the process of Serbs returning to Croatia has started, and, as the Croatian weekly NACIONAL wrote, Tudjman allowed 5,000 Serb refugees to return to their homes. The neighbors of the Krajina Serbs, the Serb refugees from western Bosnia municipalities (Drvar, Glamoc, Grahovo), have also expressed their desire to return. According to reliable data, 25,000 Serbs have said they want to return to those towns. The Croatian authorities in Glamoc stopped several hundred Serbs from entering their homes last week. However, as the representatives of those Serbs (who are scattered all over the Serbian entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina) told the representatives of the international community, they will not give up their attempts to return to their homes. According to information from the same source, approximately 7,000 Serbs who had left the Sarajevo suburbs also want to return. They are asking the international community—primarily the UNHCR, in a very discreet and cautious way—to provide transport.

Except the arrest and extradition to The Hague, the most difficult thing that can happen to Karadzic is the moving of Serbs from his entity to the federal one. He considers that process equally destructive for his state, as the process of the return of Muslims and Croats to the towns in the Serbian entity from which Karadzic's authorities drove them out. The principal idea of his state in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the idea of compact territories clean in the ethnic sense, without coexistence, intermingling,

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and mixing of nations. Tudjman is also very fond of that idea, privately and politically, and the two of them have always agreed on that. Croatian sources recently leaked information that the neighboring state's authorities intend to solve very soon the problem of refugees from Velika Kladusa who are presently settled in the Kuplensko camp. One of the best solutions mentioned was the transport of several thousands of Muslims to—Stolac! One's first impression is that the maneuver does not match Tudjman's love of ethnically clean territories. However, when we analyze that intention, we see that the Croatian authorities will soon have to submit to the pressure of the world (Bildt and his team have not even started their work on the Federation, but they will soon) and carry out the task assigned to them in Dayton that they have not even commenced yet: the return of the Muslims to Stolac. Well, if the Muslims really have to go to Stolac, let it be "Fikret's" [Abdic] Muslims, not "Alija's". That will spoil the ethnic cleansity of Stolac—this is true—but the town will still remain "politically clean," which is almost the same. Therefore, in order to provide political representation for the Kuplensko refugees, Abdic's political party has already been formed in the eastern part of Mostar! As we can see, Tudjman and Karadzic had a lot of things to discuss at their meeting last week. If the pressure and stipulations of the international community stopped Tudjman from keeping the Krajina Serbs out of Croatia, he has no formal power or responsibility for the return of the Serbs to certain parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by the Croatian authorities. He has no formal power, but he can very easily order the Croatian authorities in Glamoc and Drvar not to let the Serbs who want to return come one step closer. That is enough for Karadzic!

Srebrenica and Gorazde in Sarajevo

Karadzic wanted information and guarantees that the Croatian authorities would do so before several thousands of Muslims came to visit the Serb-controlled towns they had been driven out of. He needed the Serbs to be stopped from visiting Glamoc so that the events on the road to Prijedor, Doboj, and Trnovo—where his men attacked the Muslim civilians—could illustrate that the dream called "the return of the refugees" should be abandoned forever. At least two of the former "three warring parties" think that the process of moving the people is over and—as all similar processes in history—is irreversible.

A deeper analysis of everything that the Serbian authorities did to stop the Muslims from coming to their former hometowns, especially if we keep in mind the amount of energy the Pale authorities spent to keep them out, leads to the conclusion that the authorities are deeply worried about the reaction of their people. Several days before the announced evidence, police detectives dispersed throughout the "critical" towns and took over the local radio and television stations, establishing a unique model and contents of propaganda—or rather mongering of the local population. (Prijedor and Doboj radios trumpeted in unison: "Visiting graveyards is not a Muslim tradition, they are coming to provoke a conflict.") Furthermore, "the rally people," who had proved useful in the last seven or eight years, were gathered all over the Serbian entity and brought there. Still, despite all efforts, the number of Serbs who came to the "protest gatherings" failed to exceed 150 in every of those Serbian towns, and everywhere expect in Prijedor, it was Serbs from other towns and villages who waved clubs, pitchforks, and similar weaponry.

There is not enough space—and perhaps no need either—to analyze the problem of the reaction of Bosnian authorities to all those events. What we must discuss is the general, not the individual, standpoint of the Bosnian Government on the issue of the return of refugees to their homes. The case of secret, but organized, settlement of 10,000 people from Srebrenica in the Sarajevo suburbs (according to our information, that operation has been led by Prime Minister Muratovic himself, authorized by Izetbegovic), that we were first to write about in our last issue, has meanwhile become a public secret. The practical political reasons for the moving of the inhabitants of Srebrenica are clear: After a number of dangerous protest meetings in Srebrenica, the authorities realized the danger of keeping so many people in such a small place, so they started to disperse and "pacify" them. In this issue, we have also written about the "secret" travels of thousands of people from Gorazde in order to settle in Sarajevo and its surroundings. That again means that the chances of those 7,000 Serbs (and of the equal number of Croats who want to return to Sarajevo) to return to their homes in the Bosnian capital are next to nothing. Nobody will publicly tell the people from Srebrenica that it is in their best interest to let the Serbs return to Sarajevo. The sooner the Serbs return to Sarajevo, the greater the chance for the Muslims to see Srebrenica again. The people from Zvornik did not leave the villages that they were supposed to according to the Dayton agreement, and that makes their hope to return to Zvornik real and possible.

Many people we have talked to these days—who are mainly well-informed—estimated that the return of all citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina to their homes is not completely impossible. They all added: "Somebody has to make the first move in the process and accept the return of someone from the other side." Since none of the parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina has done that so far,

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Tudjman and Karadzic could have invited a third party to their secret meeting!

B-H: Karadzic Hails Accord With U.S., Swiss Agencies

LD0905215296 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Milorad Skoko, minister of industry and energy [in the Bosnian Serb government]; Aleksa Milojevic, director of the privatization agency; and Dragan Kalinic, minister of health, labor and social services, signed an agreement today with representatives of two [foreign] agencies which will help the Serb Republic carry out the processes of privatization and reconstruction, develop energy resources and industry, build roads, and improve its health service.

After the signing ceremony, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic said that this was an important day for the Serb Republic and the whole region. He expressed the hope that these two agencies, which have experience from all over the world, will help build a new system of legislation and the market economy in the Serb Republic.

[Begin Karadzic recording] These agreements are very important and we believe that, in the months to come, all our activities aimed at privatization and economic recovery will be speeded up with the help of these powerful companies, which have huge experience from all over the world.

Let me recall that KPMG has 70,000 employees in 140 countries. As a consultancy firm which deals in this kind of work this indeed is a giant of a company. Interchem Investment has very close relations with Westinghouse and we believe that Westinghouse will find it in its interest to build its turbine and generators in our thermal and hydroelectric plants.

You know that we can start right away to build several thermal and hydroelectric power plants with a total capacity of 1,200 MW, which is an investment worth some $1.2 billion. One of the best investments in the world today is electricity production in the Serb Republic. This investment should pay itself off within three or three and a half years.

We are also determined to start operating our crude oil refinery in [Bosanski] Brod and engine oil refinery in Modrica and connect this with the building of the motorway, railway, gas pipeline, and optical cable through Posavina [along the river Sava] between Bijeljina and Banja Luka and Prijedor, because we believe it to be of utmost importance at the moment to interconnect firmly and strongly by infrastructure different parts of our country. This should boost economic development in all parts of the Serb Republic and, in particular, firmly connect the Prijedor and Banja Luka region, as well as the Doboj region, or Posavina region, with the eastern part of the republic. [end recording]

Representatives of KPMG, a U.S. company, and Interchem, a Swiss company, expressed their satisfaction at being able to participate in the reconstruction, development, and modernization of the Serb Republic.

B-H: Kasagic Says Serb Leaders 'Must Fully Support' Dayton

AU1005144296 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 10 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, May 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leaders must respect all aspects of the Dayton peace agreement, the Bosnian Serb Prime Rajko Kasagic said in a joint statement issued Friday with the top civilian official overseeing the peace process in Bosnia.

The statement, issued after a meeting between Kasagic and high representative Carl Bildt, said "all leaders of the Republika Srpska [Serb Republic] must fully support and implement" the policies contained in the agreement.

Under the Dayton agreement, negotiated last year, all parties to the accord have to hand over to the UN war crimes court in the Hague any indicted war criminals on their territory.

Kasagic has previously ruled out handing over the indicted Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic.

Bildt met Kasagic Friday in Banja Luka after a week-long series of meetings in the town. Kasagic is considered a moderate by international powers.

"This week's international presence in Banja Luka has fully revealed the benefits that can flow to the people of all of the Republika Srpska from contacts with Europe and the world, provided there is full implementation of all the terms of the Dayton peace agreement," said the joint statement, sent to AFP in Sarajevo.

"All leaders of the Republika Srpska must fully support and implement these policies," it added.

B-H: Serb Police: UK Soldier's Death in Visegrad Not Reported

LD0905163496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Visegrad, 9 May (SRNA)—In connection with reports about the body of an unidentified British IFOR [Implementation Force] soldier,

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found near Visegrad yesterday, Visegrad police today said that it had no information about any IFOR soldier killed in this area.

The Visegrad police said in their statement that there had been no incidents at the time IFOR's special unit was deployed in the town, from 2-8 May, and that the IFOR command had not reported the killing of the British soldier at the time.

The only incident occurred on 5 May, when an IFOR [words indistinct] overturned on the New Bridge in Visegrad because of excessive speed and a British soldier was seriously wounded.

Visegrad police detectives were "prevented from conducting a thorough investigation by IFOR," the statement said. [passage omitted]

B-H: Reporter's Account of Atrocities in Bijeljina

96BA0263B Sarajevo SLOBODNA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 96 pp 12-15

[Article by Sejo Omeragic: "Tracking Down Crime: The Bloody Bijeljina Bayram"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Four years ago, on 4 April 1992, SLOBODNA BOSNA journalist Sejo Omeragic, representing himself as Fikret Abdic's bodyguard, entered Bijeljina and was the only journalist to witness the crime that occurred there. SLOBODNA BOSNA published this article on 6 April 1992, but it is still fresh and instructive even today, four years later.*

Bijeljina is a city that is closed to the public. At the very point where one exits Tuzla Opstina, uninvited guests encounter a barricade, a tractor, and several cars. The delegation with which I attempt to pass with a military escort comprises Dr. Biljana Plavsic, Fikret Abdic, and General Prascevic. From this far away, armed Serbs turn back a team from TV Sarajevo and European observers. A little further, I see a cordon of armed Serb territorial forces who are under the command of Arkan and who have the duly designated white stripe on their sleeves. Moreover, the de rigueur folklore: three raised fingers and extremely disorderly people. We pass through Ugljevik, with armed Serb territorial forces everywhere.

As we enter Bijeljina, I shudder at the eery images that I see. Most houses have closed windows, lowered blinds.... I catch one horror-stricken and curious look from a woman whom I will never forget.

On Bijeljina radio, we hear a report saying that on that day a team of municipal workers has found 25 corpses at the city dump. Later, I am told the same thing by a fighter with a stripe on his shoulder, and it seems to me that he is proud of that. He adds that there are other bodies that the municipal workers still have to pick up. One of the Belgrade journalists, my good friends, tells me that the city streets through which we are to pass were "cleaned up" before the arrival of the delegation (peace mission).

During our passage through the city, another spectacle that makes my blood curdle: The Serb flag waves atop a mosque. The following day is Bayram, the biggest Muslim holiday. Later I learn that Serb flags have been raised over other mosques as well. In brief, surreptitious conversations with Bijeljina Muslims who have gathered up their courage to approach Fikret Abdic, I learn that the mosque has been looted. Abdic attempted to enter the mosque located across the street from a magnificent Bijeljina park. He was stopped by armed men who "explained" to him that there was a sniper nearby. Various types of weapon fire were then heard, and the scenario was complete.

Circle Around Refugees

At the barracks, Fikret Abdic spoke with General Jankovic and his officers. The first impression of these officers is that they are forlorn people who do not know what more they can say, and to whom. Some make efforts, almost in whispered tones, but they generally stop in mid-sentence. The pained atmosphere is occasionally broken by Mr. Abdic's questions. All in vain. The officers act like helpless souls, crowded into their barracks in the face of the evil that is taking place in the ghostlike city.

"We have done as much as we can. We have taken these people in and fed them," says General Savo Jankovic about the refugees in his camp. "There are around 300 people staying here, but there are many more in Patkovaca, somewhere around 1,500. There are both Serbs and Muslims here, while all the people in Patkovaca are Muslims."

"I want to see all of them," says Abdic. Immediately thereafter, one senses a palpable fear among the officers. One of them, a colonel, goes out every hour and reports that an attack on the barracks is possible. Incompetent and inexperienced, they are not even able to agree on what should be done. (The question arises: What are they trying to hide?) Finally, after he goes out for the third time, the colonel calls Gen. Jankovic, who returns with awkward apprehension and addresses Abdic: "You must go to the opstina building because Ms. Biljana Plavsic is there. There you will have some sort of talk with Arkan...."

"We must speak with the refugees, our visit has been pointless if we do not speak with them," says Abdic....

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The colonel, who is supposedly the commander of the barracks, goes out again, apparently "preparing" the refugees to meet with Abdic.

On the way out, we meet with the refugees. A circle of armed men tightens around us. People are weeping and sighing. Completely forlorn people who praise the Army for receiving and taking care of them. They used to earmark money for this Army and for the canned food that is now offered to them. Abdic asks questions, attempts to learn something. We are pressed together in a crowd of people, women and children weeping and sighing. I do not believe my own eyes. I quietly ask one of the women to tell me something. She does not believe me when I say that I am there to learn the truth. She gives me a sad look of incredulity, and then talks about massacres and terror, about the annihilation of the Muslims.

Outside, Come On!

She ends her story with this—that the two Komsic brothers were butchered.

Fikret Abdic is then hustled away from the crowd, and we set out for the opstina [building]. Arkan stands at the door of the hall where the meeting is to take place, turning away undesirables, including me. I sit among people who praise this great military leader. We drink some sort of slop there for two full hours. With me is Velibor Golubovic, the Radio Sarajevo correspondent, whose reports on Arkan "the liberator" you have heard on the radio. Arkan has two men with him. He calls himself a general, even though they say that he has only around 300 to 400 fighters at his disposal and his two majors, Mauser and Suca. The diminutive, dark-skinned Mauser arrives and asks Golubovic for his papers. "I am from Radio Sarajevo," the correspondent says. "You are the ones who write nasty things about Serbs and lie. Come on, let's go outside, right now." Several people intervene, pointing out the family ties between the journalist and General Kukanjac, but Major Mauser is unrelenting: "Why didn't you say that right away, come on, outside." The man who, like me, was given the ugliest mission of going to Bijeljina, then asks fearfully: "Are you going to tell your people not to kill me?"... After the meeting, at which there was probably nothing to hear, we go to houses so that the guests can talk to the people. However, the houses are quiet and the people are hidden in the basements. Arkan knocks on the door of an apartment with "Gruhonjic" on the nameplate. There is no voice, not even any noise.

"Were the weapons turned over as requested?" I ask Arkan. "One-fourth, one-fifth, one-third," he responds noncommittally. Afterwards, we reenter one of the buildings with a majority Serb population. They show us a coffin in which an old woman named Mirjana Ilic lies. She was killed in her home by a stray bullet. They cannot bury her, and for four days and nights the body has been lying in the uppermost, empty apartment of the building. A man with a child in his arms emerges. He is Muslim, his wife Croat. The young son in his arms is named Mirza. "I just want this to end," he says in panic, and then adds in a semi-tearful voice: "Let it be whatever, let it even be Serbia, we will live anywhere, just let my child live...."

No Wounded Men Behind Arkan

At the hospital, we are shown wounded people. Among them are 10 people injured by the bomb thrown into the "Istanbul" coffee house. All of them are Muslims and two are named Goran—Davidovic and Vasiljevic. I ask the doctor if there were any casualties in the street fighting. I ask the people who are hanging around whether anyone was wounded, perhaps they were all mortally wounded? They give me a strange look, and the column continues its tour. A person comes up to me who wants to answer my question and whispers to me (I try desperately to commit everything to memory, since I cannot take any notes): "None of the wounded people are left. Why should they be spared when they have butchered people simply because they are Muslims? Milo Lukic, the brother of national hero Veljko Lukic-Kurjak, was killed on Ulica Fadila Jahica Spanca. The chetniks killed two other Serbs whom I did not know. The Croat Antonija Kramaric and a relative were killed, after he was forced to take his clothes off so that they could see if he was a Muslim. Over toward Janja," the frightened person continued, "on Ulica JNA [Yugoslav People's Army Street], they murdered the owner of the butcher shop, Redzep Sabanovic, and they treacherously killed his wife and son. An entire family of Albanians from that neighborhood also died, Abdulah (I do not remember his last name), his wife, and young men in the family, Gorup and Bekto. Dzevad Osmanovic was also killed there because he attempted to flee...."

I move along with the column, and now the torment of the people awaiting their destiny closed up in their basements becomes clearer to me. Do they have children? Do they cry at night down there in the dark? How long can they hold out there? I wonder what is happening to me here. Is this a nightmare from which I will soon awake? What is this? And then I jump back off the street, because I was standing in dried-up pool of blood. The streets have not been completely cleaned up....

In front of me, Arkan's men are talking: "Just not in the mosque, these local chetniks stole everything, the first day, they were drawn to them the very first day...."

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"These folks should see the place of worship behind the park, that would be a pleasant surprise," others say about the mosque where there are said to be many dead....

We pass by an olive-drab antiaircraft gun. In front of and behind me, the column is pressed along by people with insignia on their sleeves that reads "TIGERS" and "Serb Volunteer Guard." Scars from bullets on the houses and trees.

Way Out of Hell

Fikret Abdic goes to Radio Bijeljina to talk to Muslim listeners whom he could not see in person. I turn on a transistor radio and listen. The bald but bearded journalist Petar Simic argues with Abdic rather than conversing with him, and every hour he attacks Izetbegovic. Listeners call in, and while Fikret Abdic talks to them, offering them words of hope, all that I can hear on my radio is music. Quite simply, the professional Petar Simic is not allowing Muslims to speak out openly. Here too, it is clear that Bijeljina is covering up its crimes. The Serbs from Bijeljina, naturally the urban ones, have hidden their Muslim friends and neighbors. Before the opstina building, I am told this by a woman who has come out and risked her life to tell what she knows. She also tells me about the old man, Milo Lukic, the brother of a national hero, killed because he was hiding Muslims in his home. The same thing has happened to numerous Serbs who were killed because they refused to turn in their neighbors and friends of other nationalities. At that point, the woman mentions YUTEL [expansion unknown]. "They will come soon," she says, as if expressing some formula for saving Bijeljina. "We have called them and asked them to provide us some way out of this hell. Give us some sort of way to leave. We will leave everything behind. Let them have everything—houses and apartments—let them have everything that we have acquired by toiling our entire lives, there is no longer any place for us here in the city...."

She shows me a crazy man who was wandering aimlessly around the city. His name is Jusuf Danovic. They butchered his entire family. While she is talking, I lose myself in the names. How many dead people there are in the houses, butchered. Bishop Kacavenda also appears. I am not sure if I got it right, but it seemed to me that he wanted to leave this hell as soon as possible. Let him deny that in these pages if I am not correct. Otherwise may God help him. Another to emerge from somewhere in the opstina building is Goran Hadzic, the self-styled leader of the SAO [Serb Autonomous Region of] Slavonia. They tell me that he was negotiating Arkan's attack on Bosanski Brod.

Here, in the park, with a security detachment, Biljana Plavsic, General Prascevic, and General Jankovic are speaking with Arkan. Biljana Plavsic asks Arkan to let the Army take over the city now. "Out of the question," the self-styled general says. "First I must clean up this area, and then we will go to Bosanski Brod...."

I listened to an Army in which a corporal had more authority than these two broken men with the rank of general.

Doctor Klicanovic also appears, protesting the looting of Muslim homes. "That should not continue to happen, stop it," he tells a man in a grayish uniform, who apparently works for the Serb Crisis Staff. He also says something unrelated, about the torture of a child....

In the meantime, Ms. Plavsic is giving an interview to EKSPRES POLITIKA, and praising Arkan for intervening. She hugs him as she leaves. Is it possible, I think, that she saw nothing? That she heard nothing? That she did not even entertain any doubts?

B-H: Serb Opposition Leaders View SDS 'Repression'

AU0905141296 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 96 p 5

[Article by Boro Maric: "One Side Reveals the Other"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Increasingly often, severe attacks—often physical—upon members of [political] parties are being seen on the political scene in the Serb Republic against members of parties that, according to evaluations, could seriously threaten the ruling Serb Democratic Party [SDS].

The Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [SPRS] is the most common, but not the only, target of attacks from people with different political opinions. Bombs are being thrown into the Socialists' courtyards, their houses are being mined, their distinguished members are being beaten up....

A series of such attacks forced the leader of the SPRS, Dragutin Ilic, to make a short statement saying that the Serb Republic has come a step closer to being terrorist territory due to the use of violence. Moreover, he said that the attacks upon the Socialists are being planned and implemented in one center.

The head of the Serbian National Party of the Serb Republic [SNSRS], Radoslav Brdjanin, thinks that the final goal of the frequent attacks upon the Socialists is the authorities' intention to maintain its current position. This would enable the authorities to distance themselves from Yugoslavia as much as possible.

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Who Is the Patriot?

Brdjanin says that the SDS turned its back on itself and its program long ago. Especially on the part that obliges it to unite with Yugoslavia. Even all the parties that are "pulling" toward Yugoslavia, including the SNSRS, are almost seen as enemies by the authorities of the Serb Republic.

He also warns that it is indicative that rumors are being spread through the Serb Republic Ministry of the Interior. These rumors say that some illegal groups are preparing the liquidation of those who oppose the SDS and those with different opinions. This, says Brdjanin, looks like they are washing their hands of it, and in advance.

"If the Ministry of the Interior has such information, why doesn't it arrest the potential terrorists? Why doesn't it find those who express their political opinions with the help of explosives and bombs? Why are all those who pointed their fingers at the illegal deals of the Serb Republic leadership authorities now considered enemies?" Brdjanin asks.

The claims that he split with the SDS by agreement and that, as the leader of the SNSRS, he is, in fact, working for the ruling party are unfounded, Brdjanin says.

"The easiest thing to do is to put labels on people—to say that people are enemies and that they will give up the Serb Republic to the Muslims in the future. I ask myself, who is the greater patriot: Velibor Ostojic, the vice president of the Serb Republic Government and the gray eminence of the SDS, or Zivo Radisic, the vice president of the SPRS? Ostojic's sons have not even seen the front line, but Radisic's sons were constantly at the very front," says Brdjanin.

The leader of the Independent Social Democratic Party [Stranke Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata], Milorad Dodik, emphasizes that authorities disqualify themselves through their inability to handle those who, using explosives, bombs, and fists, attack people holding different opinions.

"The SDS seems to expect that the people will vote for authorities that do not guarantee them even minimal security. Such an attitude toward the voters is incorrect, to put it mildly. Moreover, repression cannot take the place of good party programs and good lists of candidates at the next elections," Dodik said.

He adds that the state newspaper OSLOBODJENJE had recently accused him of being an agent of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. At the same time, he was distinguished as a peoples' representative with the Order of Nemanjic.

"The authorities are obviously weaving on two different looms. On one loom, in the National Assembly, they are showing one side of their character, whereas on the other loom, in their newspaper, they are showing the other. Somebody said, however, that one side is best described by the other," said Dodik.

"Black Lists" Again

There is no dilemma for Miodrag Zivanovic, head of the Social Liberal Party of the Serb Republic [Socijalno-liberalna stranka Republike Srbske]. According to Zivanovic, this campaign against the opposition parties is led by Momcilo Krajisnik, the chairman of the National Assembly of the Serb Republic.

"Everything that is happening to the Socialists and the other political opponents of the SDS is nothing but the destruction of the peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The SDS is striving to create the impression that the conditions for the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina have not been met. Something similar is being done by the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By postponing or not holding the elections, they would prolong their own mandates," Zivanovic believes.

He says that the SDS's real influence is falling, and that the ruling party, that is, the regime in the Serb Republic, is increasing the repression. He adds that "black lists" are again being circulated. These are lists with the names of party mercenaries, the fifth column, internal enemies....

"I spent four years in the Army of the Serb Republic, and only now, after demobilization, have the authorities found out that I am a Muslim spy and that the headquarters of the liberals is not in Banja Luka but in Sarajevo.... If anything happens to me, it will be because 'someone' said that I was a Muslim spy. If I am what the authorities say that I am, then why have I not been arrested? No one will ask questions. I am afraid that the authorities are not even aware of the consequences that can arise from the political intolerance that they are inciting," says Zivanovic.

Violence, of any kind, threatens the internal order of any country, and that is why the ruling party and its regime in the Serb Republic—as those that we spoke with emphasize—has to put an end to it, if it cares about the people and the country.

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B-H: Private Biweekly Newspaper Launched in Doboj

LD0805200596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 8 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 8 May (SRNA)—The first issue of a private newspaper, ALTERNATIVA, published by the agency with the same name and owned by Milovan Stankovic, appeared in Doboj today.

The paper will be printed biweekly, exclusively in the Cyrillic alphabet. The initial circulation will be 3,000 copies.

The editor in chief of ALTERNATIVA will be Pavle Stanisic, his deputy, Zivko Savkovic and the director, Slobodan Babic.

The biweekly will be on sale at the stands of Banja Luka's GLAS SRPSKI and at other stands, and will be also available from street salesmen.

According to the owner, the paper will encourage "free and objective journalism, open to all opinions."

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Croatia: Russia's Ivanov Says Erdut 'Must Be Implemented in Full'

LD0905185596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 9 May 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Erdut, May 9 (TANJUG)—The First Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said Thursday [9 May] that full guarantees must be given to the people of the Serb region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem that they can remain to live in the region.

The basic Serb-Croatian agreement signed last November 12 in Erdut must be implemented in full, Ivanov told the press after meeting Serb region president Goran Hadzic.

In line with the agreement, this region with a predominant Serb population and the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina that Croatian Army did not occupy in its aggressions last year, was placed under transitional U.N. administration for one year.

Referring to possible autonomy of the region within Croatia, Ivanov said this issue should be resolved through negotiations between local Serb authorities and the government in Zagreb.

Hadzic said the Serb authorities would do all they can to preserve the region's multi-national community, the only area with mixed population remaining within Croatia's internationally recognized borders.

After Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation, at least 500,000 Serbs moved out from its territory including the Krajina.

Referring to the repatriation of Croats in the Serb region, Hadzic said all who accept to live together with Serbs there would be welcome, but not those who advocate ethnic cleansing.

During his visit to the region, Ivanov, accompanied by Russian Ambassador to Zagreb Leonid Kerestedzhiyants, also met the U.N. Administrator Jacques Klein.

Croatia: Article Assesses Ivanov Visit to Zagreb

AU0905143096 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 96 p 4

[Article by Bogoljub Lacmanovic: "Yeltsin's Letter to Tudman"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Igor Ivanov's visit to Zagreb is fresh evidence that Russia—even after Yevgeniy Primakov replaced Andrey Kozyrev as the head of the Kremlin diplomacy—continues the policy of "equidistance," the policy of developing multilateral and equally good relations with all the states created on the territory of former Yugoslavia. However, that was not the only reason Yevgeniy Primakov's first deputy visited Zagreb.

Ivanov brought Croatian President Franjo Tudman a letter from Boris Yeltsin that affirmed—as the Moscow public was also informed—that Moscow was ready to accept Zagreb as an equal partner in the political dialogue, but also to reestablish the level of trade that existed before the disintegration of Yugoslavia: The present $600 million should be increased to at least $1.5 billion.

Other details of Yeltsin's letter to the Croatian President were not published. After his meeting with President Tudman, however, Ivanov described the results of their Zagreb talks for the Russian state agency ITAR-TASS in the following way: They primarily talked about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and both sides expressed their great support for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. Besides, Ivanov informed the Croatian president of Moscow's concern at the attempts of certain Muslim states to send great supplies of arms to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and reminded Tudjman of Yeltsin's attitude, expressed in the recent negotiations with President Clinton: The "balance of arms and fear" does not ensure peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina—a decrease in armaments does. However, that was certainly not the main reason for Ivanov's visit to Zagreb.

In his conversation with President Tudman, Ivanov repeated the attitude of Moscow that the reintegration of Eastern Slavonia should be proceeded with in a peaceful way—however, that attitude is not new and it cannot be the main reason for Ivanov's visit, although Moscow can certainly help to speed up the process by putting pressure on Belgrade, especially since Yevgeniy Primakov plans to visit Belgrade in May.

Before leaving for Zagreb, Ivanov told the media representatives that Russia supports Croatia in its wish to sign the "Partnership for Peace" agreement with NATO, since Russia had also signed that agreement. Although the journalists did not ask, however, Ivanov added that Russia was still against the countries of Eastern and Central Europe being admitted to NATO. In his interview for the Russian state agency after his meeting with President Tudman, Ivanov did not mention the issue of their admission to NATO. In diplomatic statements, the issues that are left out are usually the ones that the parties failed to agree on. Still, regardless of the details of Yeltsin's letter, that letter and Ivanov's visit to Zagreb prove the international political importance of Croatia. Therefore, when Yeltsin wrote

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that Tudman was the most influential politician in the region, it was not a diplomatic turn of phrase—it was a fact.

Croatia: Gen Schoups Views Completed UNTAES Deployment

AU0805193596 Beli Manastir Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Krajine Television in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 6 May 96

[Interview with General Joseph Schoups by Petko Koprivica; place and date not given—from a "special program"; Schoups speaks in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Koprivica] The forces of the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia [UNTAES] have practically completed their deployment in the region. General Schoups, could you tell us about your cooperation with the military authorities of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem when it comes to this demanding task?

[Schoups] The UNTAES deployment took a rather long time. I first came to Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem late in January. I was preparing for my mission in February. We were deploying our forces in March and April. I announced I would take command on 14 March. I promised we would establish ourselves in the Vukovar seat by the end of March—and we did—so the final deployment should be completed today as the last members of the Pakistani battalion have just arrived in Darda. We now have 5,000 soldiers in the area and are ready to carry out our mission.

I have noticed that the situation has gotten much better since I first arrived. Ever since I met Gen. Loncar [commander of RSK Army Slavonia-Baranja Corps], our cooperation has been outstanding. I have found his advice very useful, and he has helped me do my job, so from now on I intend to listen to what he has to say. He has been living here for a long time and is a very wise man. Our cooperation with him, as well as with the population and the soldiers of the district, is very good.

[Koprivica] In your capacity as UNTAES commander, can you guarantee absolute safety and peace to the Serb majority in the district?

[Schoups] Gen. Loncar and I agreed—and this is included in the general agreement as well—that demilitarization can begin only after our forces have been completelly deployed, because we need 5,000 soldiers for that. We can ensure full safety for the people of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem. Having completed our deployment, I am convinced—and have indeed received assurances from Gen. Loncar—that his forces will be demilitarized under the provisions of the Erdut Agreement. My forces can secure the safety and peace your people expect, as was previously done by Serb forces. I hope that during my mandate all sides—Croatian, Serb, or their respective governments—will try to implement the provisions of the basic agreement as promised. Only with the cooperation of both sides can I fully carry out my mission.

[Koprivica] As Gen. Klein announced, the demilitarization process should be completed by 1 July. Does the demilitarization refer to the Croatian side as well?

[Schoups] I am responsible for the demilitarization process in the territory of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem, and it will be carried out very soon. The transitional administration with a mandate of one to two years must see that nobody carries weapons. Weapons must be taken away. I do not care whether the weapons go toward the west to Croatia or across the Danube River to Serbia. That is all the same to me. As long as the district I am responsible for is peaceful and free of weapons, my conscience is clear, because the agreement is being implemented. Both the Croats and the Serbs know my forces have been deployed. They know about the air base at Klisa, that the Pakistani battalion is in Darda, and that the Belgian battalion is in Beli Manastir. Every side knows the positions of my army, and I trust them all. In turn, I expect my opinion to be respected by both sides.

[Koprivica] What do you fear in carrying out your mission? Do you suppose there could be some critical moments? How will you deal with them?

[Schoups] Personally, I do not expect any critical situations because my task, as envisaged by the agreement, is to supervise and help in the demilitarization of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem. I will do that. After demilitarization, as promised by Gen. Loncar, there will not be any heavy weapons. Of course, they will keep some side arms like rifles, guns, mortars, and so forth, but that is fine with me as long as there are no more weapons on the streets.

In order to provide safety, it is imperative that there be strong political forces. I consider it particularly important—in the wake of the demilitarization process—that there be no incidents, that my army does not need to interfere, because we do not speak your language, we do not understand each other very well. To avoid misunderstandings we need a police force that knows this people and their language. If, for instance, a member of the Jordanian battalion were to enter into a conflict with a local, there could be an incident. Consequently, we must have a special police force on

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the ground after the demilitarization process. Every minor incident will be first handled by the police, as in every democratic country, where they are in charge of ensuring the safety of the population. We will have to assist the police in any major incidents, and we will work closely with the police force.

[Koprivica] Gen. Schoups, tell us your impression of the district and its people.

[Schoups] I was most impressed with the fact that here, west of the Drava River, in Baranja, the living conditions are very good. You live in a beautiful country that has been quite well preserved. There is no major war damage. The situation is much more critical on the other side, south of the Drava River, because many villages and towns were destroyed. However, if people cooperate and try to bring more prosperity and improve that part of your district, there is a good chance. As I am here now in the spring, I enjoy watching people work, especially knowing how useful that work is.

[Koprivica] As a soldier responsible for the safety and peace of the region, what is your message to the Serb people of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem?

[Schoups] I can say that I believe the Serbs to be a very good and cultured nation. In my spare time, when I have some, I enjoy reading books that give me an insight into the culture and life of that people. I have now read Ivo Andric's novel "Bridge Across the Drina River" [Na Drini cuprija]. I would like to say something I said at the Klisa airport, when I quoted Martin Luther King, who said we can soar like birds in the sky, or swim like fish in the sea, but on firm ground we must learn to live as brothers and sisters. I would like to add that all of us are children of this universe, like the trees and the stars, and that we all have a right to stay here and live where we want. I hope and have more and more faith that everything will go successfully.

[Koprivica] With best wishes for the success of your peace mission, I thank you very much for the interview.

Croatia: UN Official Appeals for More Press Freedom

AU0905130696 Paris AFP in English 1254 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 9 (AFP)—The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights appealed to the Zagreb government Thursday [9 May] to encourage press freedom in Croatia, where three journalists have recently been charged with violating a new press law.

"In my conversations with the government I stressed that it is really extremely important to have a free media in order to create a free society," Jose Ayala Lasso told reporters at a press conference.

"I hope that this expression of strong support to a free media will produce a positive effect in Croatia," he added.

Ayala-Lasso's visit to Croatia comes amid repeated moves by the Zagreb government against independent media organizations, with several reporters picked up for questioning, including three who have been charged.

The three face charges of violating a March 15 press law. If convicted, they could be sentenced to one to three years in prison.

Croatia: Serb Leader Unconcerned by Exemption to Amnesty Law

LD0905193896 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Borovo, 9 May (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Serb region of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, told TANJUG today that he does not attach any particular importance to announcements by the Croatian authorities that the amnesty does not apply to him. Hadzic added that he is not concerned because he is confident that "the issue will be resolved if not by this then by some other law."

Hadzic said he is not aware which other 15 Serbs from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem were said by the Croatian Government to be exempt from the law, but he assumes that they would be members of the regional government from 1991.

Hadzic described the very act of proclaiming the amnesty law as "contributing to the people's peace of mind and to the normalization of relations between the FRY and Croatia." [passage omitted]

Croatia: Human Rights Center To Open 'Soon' in Vukovar

LD1005114496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 10 May 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Borovo, May 10 (TANJUG)—U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Laso on Thursday [9 May] said that a human rights center would open soon in Vukovar.

The region, situated between Croatia and Yugoslavia, is populated by a Serb majority, and is under U.N. administration for a one-to-two-year transition period.

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The U.N. is supervising the implementation of the Croatian-Serb agreement on demilitarization and normalization of relations.

Ayala Lasso met for talks with the Regional Secretary for Human Rights Ranko Juricic in the town of Borovo, near Vukovar.

A statement released by the eastern Slavonia, Barania and west Srem press center quoted Ayala Lasso as saying he respected the demands for general amnesty for all Serbs in the region, except for those suspected of committing war crimes.

The statement quoted Lasso as saying that the current, very complicated, situation it was necessary to analyze the amnesty law proposed by the Croatian Government.

Juricic informed Ayala Lasso of demands to ensure the Serbs the right to their own language and alphabet, national symbols, media autonomy and a moratorium on military service in the Croatian Army, said the statement.

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FYROM: Belgrade Daily on 'Controversial' Parts of Border

AU0905195096 Skopje MIC in Engli.. 9 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Macedonian-[The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Yugoslav border, over which, otherwise, there are no controversial questions, has four controversial points—yesterday's Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes. As MAK-FAKS reports, the newspaper says that the parliamentary commissions for foreign politics and the Macedonian media are raising the question of the ownership of a part of the territories of the cement factory and the border point General Jankovic, near the village Kopiljaca in Skopska Crna Gora, which are currently on Serb territory and the region Cupin. Brdo near Kriva Palanka, which are under UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment] supervision.

FYROM: Reaction to Cokrevski's Remarks on Media

AU0905191596 Skopje MIC in English 9 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The statement by Interior Minister Tomislav Cokrevski that the journalists are destabilizing the Interior Ministry, and that by asking tendentious questions, they are not only destabilizing the police, but the state as well, has triggered a storm of reactions.

The reactions range from reserved announcements that the minister will be asked to "explain what he wanted to say," to statements that "such attacks and threats represent an assassination of free journalism."

The MACEDONIAN RADIO feels there is no need for it to defend itself from some kind of counteroffensive, as the defence is the trust this radio feels from its listeners.

VECER feels that the minister should explain what he meant to say. The President of the Association of Journalists Stojan Nasev explained that he would react as soon as it is explained precisely whom these accusations apply to.

DELO believes that this statement is the strongest attack on the freedom of press in the last five years, and that it represents an assassination of free journalism.

FOCUS believes that the new Interior Minister Cokrevski is only carrying on what Frckovski [former minister of the interior, present foreign minister] began before him. It is an "assassination of the freedom of the press."

FYROM: Interior Minister's Statement Criticized

AU0905210496 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 9 May 96 p 3

[Commentary by Julijana Kocovska: "Police 'Analysis' on Journalism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Macedonian Police Day, 7 May, apart from congratulating the Interior Ministry personnel and evaluating their work during the time of transition, in which the police has a heightened role in maintaining the citizens' security and the establishment of Macedonian society, Interior Minister Tomislav Cokrevski announced, publicly and strongly, a ministry offensive with the most powerful weapons—truth and openness. Everybody is willing to welcome such an "offensive" because truth and openness really are the most powerful weapons for a society that aspires to democratic development and opposes all kinds of speculation, half-truths, and invention. Judging by what he announced and the way he addressed the audience and the media, however, it seems that truth and openness are not exactly the minister's strongpoints.

Strong Accusations

The head of the Macedonian police, in his hardly accurate but emotional statement, actually declared war against journalists and made a general accusation against the mass media: Among other things, he accused them of writing articles in connection with the assassination attempt against the president of the country with which they intended to destabilize the ministry and all of Macedonian society. He said that they are linked to some criminal structures and are maliciously involved in the functioning of political parties and personalities, and, by doing this, he suggested that they are mercenaries, spies, and involved in plots. He even spoke of an assassination attempt against the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the Macedonian establishment. One must ask oneself what happened to the well-known University Professor Tomislav Cokrevski, a man who, in the era of communism, was proscribed for his liberal and democratic ideas and suffered Communist Party anathema. What happened to the president and founder of the Forum for Human Rights who, at the onset of political pluralism and multiparty democracy, but also later, served as an example of a man who delivered open addresses and analyses whenever he felt that there were tendencies and threats that the authorities were ready to oppress human rights and the principles of civic society?

Is the minister angry with journalists because they persistently write and ask questions about the investigation

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into the assassination attempt against the president of the Republic of Macedonia? He says that these articles are inventing stories and presenting half-truths, inconsistent theses, and attacks that can be detrimental to the entire Macedonian society, and not only the Interior Ministry. Does this mean that the assassination attempt against the head of the state has to be covered up and that the journalists must stop writing because the Ministry of the Interior is hiding itself behind a wall of silence? It remains unclear why Minister Cokrevski is so sensitive to criticism of the assassination attempt when this criticism has nothing to do with the ministry?

Since 3 October, the day of the terrorist act, the Interior Ministry has held three news conferences, at which it continually contradicted previously uncovered data without professionally presenting the audience with any facts from the investigation. In any democratic country, questions regarding an assassination attempt against the head of the state would be continually present in the newspapers because that is the job of journalists—to investigate such an event professionally and unceasingly. The people are certainly aware that there are assassination attempts that cannot be clarified even after 40 years, but the people are also entitled to be informed about the course of the investigations. With us, unfortunately, the question of the assassination attempt is reduced to interparty settlements of accounts and interparty allegations, without the involvement of the investigative judge. Seven months after the event, the Interior Ministry personnel engaged in the investigation have not produced any data.

The minister is angry because he was asked by journalists about the assassination attempt two days after he entered office. By not answering when the journalists ask, the new minister, regardless of how many days he has spent in the Ministry, must find a way to present information about the course of the investigation because, although he is a new minister, the investigation into the assassination attempt has been going on for seven months. Do we have to ask his predecessor, who has avoided going out in public for months and whose resignation was not accepted by the prime minister with the explanation that the investigation had to be completed first? Ultimately, why did the minister keep quiet, and why did the Interior Ministry not dispute some articles if the information they presented was really half-true, invented, or unproven?

"I Am the State"

The head of the Macedonian police stated that he favors criticism and contact with journalists. At the same time, he accused them of false criticism and stated that they are maliciously involved in the functioning of some political parties and personalities with the goal of destabilizing the Ministry of the Interior and Macedonian society. Is the minister slowly but surely turning to the the old schemes, by which any criticism of the authorities and its personalities is identified as an attack against the state and the national interests and as an attempt to overturn the system? The goal has obviously been to define one's own recipe for criticism and to control the mass media in order to present only the truth that suits the authority. We remember that it was Professor Cokrevski who, as a former politician, was faced with the same situation when the Communist Party was analyzing him, bugging him, and creating files on him because it considered him to be a threat to the system and the state.

At the time of the expert government, he was strongly opposed to the tendencies of the executive power to try to limit the independence of the University, the information system, and science, knowing that all this was done on the pretext that the state and its interests were being protected. At that time, Cokrevski argued with the ministers of Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev's government, and he stated the following: "When somebody tells me that he is serving the Macedonian nation, it is an ideological idiom and a demagogic statement, because the nation is something that we see in terms of a structure, in various classes and interests. Being a sociologist, I claim that one cannot talk in the name of the whole people when the issue involved is science, information, or economy. The government and the ministers are not the state, they are just a segment of the state, because God save us if they are the state. In that case, we will have absolutism!"

As a university professor, a sociologist, a scientist, and president of the Forum for Human Rights, Tomislav Cokrevski often defended the right to information, the right to media freedom, and the right to hold different opinions. The people know Cokrevski as a man who objected to attacks against journalists and journalism. In an interview for NOVA MAKEDONIJA five years ago, Cokrevski said: "The cornerstone of a democratic and civilized society is the public. The freedom to develop and form this public is not to put the public under the control of either ideology or authority, but to have a free journalism and mass media, free cultural and scientific reporting, and freedom of information in general. This is what we must all do, maintain, and not let anybody destroy it. Personal feelings do not count here—that is, whether we like an editor in chief or not, whether we like a journalist, or whether he is a bad or a good journalist—because these matters will be clarified with the passing of time. The most important matter is the principle of freedom of information."

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On that occasion, he also stated the following: "If somebody is grasping at for the independence of journalism and the freedom of information, he is grasping at other principles as well. He is against pluralism, against the freedom of parliamentarian democracy, and against a state ruled by laws—that is, he is against the whole concept of this society, which is going back to an old system.... To try to ban free and independent journalism is political suicide."

What Are the Police Doing?

Cokrevski was also consistent in his views and thoughts at the time when the first government was elected. As president of the St. Cyril and Methodius University at the time, he stated: "There are some serious threats that continually jeopardizing the fragile free position of journalism and the mass media. The biggest threat (as always) comes from policy and ideology. There is a natural need for the authorities to rule the mass media and the journalists, particularly when the absolute monopoly and political domination are lost. On the other hand, the mass media will be constantly attacked in a multiparty structure with the goal of controlling or influencing them from the aspect of one's own party's ideology."

Unfortunately, Minister Cokrevski's recent statement described a police analysis of the journalists' texts and suggested a weird way in which the journalists should be monitoring the situation! Is this really part of the work of the police?

The greatest surprise comes from a segment of the minister's statement in which he uses threats when mentioning various kinds of journalists' relationships, emphasizing that there is an administrative relationship between the police and journalists, but also a relationship between journalists and some criminal structures. "One day, let us not have to present such data," he said. It remains unclear whether the police are creating or possessing files on some journalists. What kind of criminal structures are there, and why does not the Ministry of the Interior undertake adequate measures against them? There are courts, there are public prosecutors, and these matters belong to court institutions. These general statements created a lot of ambiguity and many dilemmas about the position of free journalism and the role of the police. The people have the right to expect answers to all these questions from the interior minister.

FYROM: PDP Denounces Gligorov's Remarks on Albanians

AU0905210296 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 8 May 96 p 8

[Unattributed report: "PDP: Gligorov Is Sowing the Seed of Evil"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The University of Tetovo is not an institution founded by Albanian separatists. We do not believe that Gligorov has lost his memory; however, we would like to remind him that the University of Tetovo was founded by legitimate Albanian authorities—that is, the Albanian political parties participating in parliament and communal associations and conventions, supported by the entire Albanian populace as their inviolable right to be educated.

For the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP—PPD in Albanian], Gligorov's statements are another proof that this person, who was so glorified and even decorated for his "contribution" toward preserving peace and security in the region, is sowing the seed of evil at the end of his political career in order to upset the destabilization of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the region, despite the fact that he is convinced that the Albanians will not give up Tetovo University.

According to the PDP, the division of Albanians into separatists and integrationists, loyal and disloyal, suitable and not suitable by Gligorov testifies to his romanticism and nostalgia for the time of differentiations and political staged trials, as well as that of devising various affairs already known to the public, which aim to blame the Albanians and hold them responsible for the current destabilization of the "Oasis of Peace."

We would like to let Chairman Gligorov know that the Albanians in Macedonia demand nothing more than what the Macedonians have. The Albanians demand their share, already usurped by "Him," his cothinkers, and the current power unfortunately assisted by "non-separatist" Albanians.

Kiro Gligorov has also testified that he is not the president of the Albanians. A communique issued by the PDP Steering Council states that Gligorov's tendencies to create the impression to the international community that the Albanian people in Macedonia can be identified with the Aromanies, Vlach, Serb, Bulgarian, Turkish, etc. minorities will not only not be realized but will remain only unfulfilled dreams.

The PDP Presidency considers the assessment of interethnic relations in Macedonia, and especially the negative definition of the Tetovo University given in the

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interview for the German FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, to be a serious provocation toward the political commitments of Albanians in Macedonia in accomplishing their crucial legitimate aspirations and rights through a civilized political dialogue.

The PDP Presidency feels that President Gligorov has made a hasty step by providing such definitions regarding the legitimate demand of Albanians to legalize the right to have a university in their mother tongue. The PDP Presidency also considers as tendentious his attempt to create an illusion among the German and European public that the university is allegedly a demand by a small group of separatists. The PDP Presidency has it quite clear that President Gligorov knows quite well that this is a demand of all Albanians in Macedonia and that the PDP, for its part, has put forward the issue for discussion in many meetings of the party presidency with the president himself. President Gligorov also knows quite well that, regarding this demand, there exists a consistent unity and readiness among the Albanian relevant political factor in Macedonia so that the issue finds a solution by means of a dialogue and common political will.

The PDP Presidency feels that this statement by the president is causing grief over the further democratic developments in Macedonia for the fact that it can be taken as an incident because President Gligorov has recently been inclined to support the conjunctural policy in the region as far as the establishment of new interethnic relations is concerned and he is trying to avoid the vision he has so far maintained regarding these relations, concludes the statement by the PDP Main Presidency.

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Poland: Kwasniewski Denies Nuclear Rumor

LD0905150896 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The State Atomic Agency has reported that there is no breakdown of a nuclear power station in Ukraine and no increase in radioactivity. [passage omitted] No other competent sources have confirmed the reports by a commercial radio station of an accident in Ukraine and radioactivity.

President Aleksander Kwasniewski became interested in the matter and asked the Meteorological Institute for information, which described the report as a rumor.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] This morning—which made my blood run cold, of course—there was a report sent from Moscow or Kiev about another incident of contamination by radioactive material from Chernobyl, which would also have an effect on Poland. When I visited the Meteorological Institute recently, they showed me documentation that showed that 10 years ago they were the first to discover Chernobyl and pass it on to the necessary places. Unfortunately, it was later kept secret. So I asked them what was going on, and I have a report stating that everything is fine. But I would make a request, listen, because this is a risky rumor. I am very afraid of the social panic that can result from such reports. [end recording]

Poland: Spokesman Names Topics of Kwasniewski Talks in U.S.

LD1005092396 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 10 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Presidential spokesman Antoni Styrczula reported that, during a meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton in Washington on 8 July, Aleksander Kwasniewski will primarily discuss Poland's aspirations to join European structures. Speaking on Polish radio, Antoni Styrczula also said that Presidents Kwasniewski and Clinton are planning to discuss opportunities for Polish-U.S. economic cooperation:

[Begin Styrczula recording] The aim of this meeting is to enable us to present our constant strivings to be integrated into European structures, to intensify cooperation, particularly economic cooperation, and to develop cooperation between the defense industries of our two countries. [end recording]

Antoni Styrczula also said that a response from President Aleksander Kwasniewski to a letter from Edward Moskal, chairman of the Polish American Congress, will probably be ready by next Monday. Chairman Moskal accused the Polish authorities of treating the matter of the return of the property of Jewish communities in an exceptionally discriminatory manner. The presidential spokesman stressed that the Polish side disagrees with some of Edward Moskal's views.

Poland: Deputy Minister Criticizes U.S. Congressional Report

WS0905144996 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 9 May 96 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "Joining NATO Not That Expensive"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *[Deputy Defense Minister] Andrzej Karkoszka, having just returned from the first round of individual Poland-NATO consultations in Brussels, commented on a report by the [U.S.] Congressional Budget Office [CBO] exclusively for SZTANDAR.*

"The Defense Ministry was not surprised by the publication of the U.S. report," Karkoszka told us. He claims that the authors adopted a paradoxical calculation method that resulted in exorbitant costs. The report is based on U.S. estimates of endeavors that are in reality far cheaper in our country. The deployment of a division within our territory, for example, was calculated on the basis of how much a similar operation would cost in the United States. Karkoszka maintains that the authors falsely assumed that nothing was done to develop the domestic military infrastructure. However, the truth is that Poland has invested intensively in this area. "By U.S. standards, the figures are in the range of millions or even billions of dollars." This year some testing grounds and air bases will be modernized.

Karkoszka claims that the CBO report calculations were mistakenly carried out for a crisis situation when international NATO forces would have to defend Poland against an aggressor. Huge air bases, warehouses, and gas lines would then be needed. Meanwhile, there is no imminent threat at the moment, and all we need are exercises so that our Armed Forces can conform to their counterparts within the alliance. The only thing we need to do is secure a proper standard of training infrastructure in peacetime. "Let us, therefore, theoretically assume that the costs would be half of those specified in the report," Karkoszka concluded.

Karkoszka claims that the fact that the Congressional study, which contains excessively high costs of integrating Poland into NATO, was published now, when the debate on the future course of the alliance is entering a crucial phase and presidential elections are approaching in the United States, is no coincidence. He added that the Ministry of National Defense has already begun calculating the costs of a number of options of integrating with NATO structures. Experts from the West are

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assisting. (We learned from unofficial sources that the experts are American).

Poland: Dobrzanski Says U.S. Firm Not To Bid for Contract

LD0905114496 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1020 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 9 May—Stanislaw Dobrzanski, minister of national defense, said that the U.S. firm Rockwell will not be taking part in a competition between bidders wishing to supply antitank missiles for the Huzar combat helicopter. This is despite the fact that the U.S. ambassador sent a letter to the Polish authorities asking that its bid be examined.

"The U.S. firm was not entered for the competition because its bid came too late. We asked, pleaded with, and begged the Americans to put in an offer because we were interested in this missile," said Dobrzanski. "I told them that they had done a lot of damage to Poland by not making an offer when we asked them to because this undermined our negotiating position," the defense minister told reporters. He explained that, if you announce a deadline for tendering bids, you are obliged by law to adhere to it. The minister added, however, that the U.S. bid had been considered outside the competition. He said enigmatically that the bid had both good and bad points.

The defense minister denied a suggestion by one of the papers alleging that Jan Czaja, deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation, who, according to a newspaper, is backing the Israeli firm Elbit, was able to influence the choice of who supplied missiles for the Polish Army. The suspicions of the paper are unjustified because decisions in these matters are taken collectively, said the defense minister.

The whole tendering procedure is monitored by various institutions, among others by the Committee for Defense Matters of the Council of Ministers. This has been examined from every angle, and no violation of the law has been established. This hullabaloo bears all the hallmarks of a particular kind of struggle for the Polish market, Dobrzanski believes. He noted that no decision had yet been made in this matter.

Poland: Military Purchases Become 'Diplomatic Issue'

WS0905125696 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 96 p 2

[Article by Pawel Wronski: "Where Will the Rockets Come From? Diplomatic Haggling in Connection With Purchases for the Polish Armed Forces"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Defense Issues Committee [KSORM] is to decide today what rockets the Polish Armed Forces are to be equipped with. The U.S. ambassador sent a letter to Polish authorities yesterday asking them to reconsider an offer of the Rockwell company that had been previously rejected.*

"I formally ask that the offer of the Rockwell company be considered thoroughly and honestly," wrote Ambassador Nicholas Rey. "I wish to state that the company has the full support and approval of the U.S. Government."

Polish purchases of antitank weapons are becoming a diplomatic issue. On 1 May, Paul Kaminski, U.S. under secretary of defense, also wrote a letter to Polish Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski asking that Rockwell be considered in the bid.

On 13 March, Rockwell submitted an extensive offer for equipping Polish Huzar helicopters. Marconi was to supply radio engineering, SAAB was to provide avionics, and Finnmechanika was to contribute a 20-mm gun. Rockets were to be manufactured by Mesko in Skarzysko-Kamienna and other subunits in Polish arms plants.

On 18 April, KSORM decided that, because the offer was submitted too late, it should not be considered at all inasmuch as it might hold up the entire Huzar project.

The staunchest advocates of rejecting the U.S. offer were Stanislaw Dobrzanski of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], Deputy Industry Minister Roman Czerwinski, and Jan Czaja, who is responsible for arms trade in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation.

Immediately before taking his current office, Deputy Minister Czaja, a member of the [former, communist] United Peasant Party, in which at age 18 he headed the foreign department, worked for Northeast Ventures AB, with headquarters in Plac Konstytucji in Warsaw. The company represents the interests of Israeli arms companies, among them Elbit.

Northeast Ventures AB itself confirmed the information.

Deputy Minister Jan Czaja is currently on leave.

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A group of politicians supporting Polish integration with NATO received a go-ahead from the Clinton administration to sell the Hellfire technology to Poland, the first state of the Visegrad Group. "Now that KSORM has made its negative decision, these people have found themselves in a very uncomfortable position," explains an employee of the U.S. Embassy. "A rejection of the offer without consideration will be received as a very bad signal."

Still remaining under consideration are the French-based firm Aerospatiale (with the Hot-2 missile), and the clear favorite, the Israeli Raphael missile, endorsed by Elbit. The latter, however, is only a prototype version.

"The Israelis suggest we participate in the production of the missile with which they want to equip their own Armed Forces," says one of the supporters of the Israeli offer. "This is advantageous for our engineers. The other party is taking the entire risk. The whole brouhaha is caused by the unpunctual Rockwell, which is trying to whip up a storm by unclean methods through the press."

Our source claims that Raphael can construct a better rocket.

The Americans are surprised that Israel, wishing to produce a superweapon jointly with Poland, is purchasing Hellfire rockets.

Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Eugeniusz Mleczak stated that the bidding commission considers the Rockwell offer incomplete and the financial details imprecise.

"This is a misunderstanding. At the request of the Ministry of National Defense, we presented complete financing proposals and indicated companies that could cooperate with us," says Myron Cancilla, one of Rockwell's directors.

The Americans are convinced that a negative decision has already been made. Speaking to a GAZETA WYBORCZA reporter yesterday, Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski softened that stance.

"No final decisions have been made as yet," he said.

The KSERM is to take up the issue again today, but its decision must be approved by the government.

Poland: Sejm Commission Continues Hearings in Oleksy Case

WS0905133896 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 96 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Jachowicz: "Did the Prosecutor Say Too Much?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Prosecutor Slawomir Gorzkiewicz endangered the life of a Russian intelligence officer procured by the Polish side," said General Gromoslaw Czempinski, former chief of the Office of State Protection [UOP], and General Wiktor Fonfara, head of the UOP Investigation Directorate, during hearings in front of the extraordinary Sejm commission.*

They claim that Gorzkiewicz did so by including information that allows the identification of the Russian in his justification for dropping proceedings in the Jozef Oleksy case.

We were unofficially told about the testimony of the two generals by several members of the commission. Wlodzimierz Nieporet of the Democratic Left Alliance told GAZETA WYBORCZA: "Both generals are convinced that information included in the justification allows the identification of the procured Russian officer."

Commission members, among them Dariusz Wojcik of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, told us that the two generals who testified yesterday said that Prosecutor Gorzkiewicz's explanation was reprehensible and that an investigation should be launched into why it was written that way.

After the hearings, Gen. Czempinski spoke with journalists and criticized Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz's "unprofessional suggestion" to publish a white book revealing materials on the basis of which the Ministry of Internal Affairs leveled espionage charges against Oleksy. According to Czempinski, revealing these materials will cause UOP and Poland to lose credibility in the eyes of other countries and their intelligence services. "If anyone decides to reveal the operations of the intelligence services in one case, who can guarantee that another politician will not reveal something else in a different case?" Czempinski asked journalists.

Bogdan Borusewicz of the Freedom Union, deputy chairman of the Sejm commission investigating the legality of UOP operations, said yesterday that a final report will probably not be ready until June.

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Poland: Peasant Party Criticizes Coalition Partner

WS0905144096 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 96 p 1

[Article by Dominika Wielowieyska: "Taxes 1997: PSL Versus SLD-PSL"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] is fiercely criticizing the economic decisions of the government it is part of, mainly the decisions concerning next year's taxes. The day after the government adopted a draft tax law, the Peasants came forth with counterproposals.*

The government wants taxes in 1997 to be 20, 31, and 43 percent. PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak and Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych (PSL) said yesterday that taxes should be lower still: 18, 30, and 42 percent. "The PSL ministers signaled our stance, but not all of our postulates were taken into consideration," said Pawlak.

The PSL chairman also stated that the PSL ministers succeeded in retaining certain tax reliefs related to education (for example, transportation to schools and learning in nonpublic schools, which Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko demanded be abated).

PSL leaders harshly criticized the government for "leaning toward liberal policies that promote the most entrepreneurial," whereas the PSL is for a "social market economy that guarantees everyone an equal start and gives a larger number of citizens an opportunity to increase their income."

The PSL disapproves of other government decisions as well: repealing investment breaks for companies ("because they will cause investments to drop"), gas quotas (because domestic refineries would benefit more if the excise tax were lowered).

The National Bank of Poland [NBP] is also criticized: Its policies "are ruining companies, which causes a decline of the profitability of exports." The Peasants claim that the NBP is responsible for the losses sustained by, among others, the Gdansk Shipyard, which is currently on the verge of bankruptcy.

Poland: SLD: Courts To Decide Church Property Restitution

WS1005081796 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 May 96 p 3

[Article by "EK": "The SLD Wants To Return Property to the Church in a Different Manner"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] propose that decisions concerning restitution of real estate to the Catholic Church be made by a court of law, not by the government and Episcopate property commission, as has been the case so far. They explain that the Catholic Church is in a privileged position.*

"These are not amendments to the law on relations between the state and the Catholic Church, but an entirely new law," says Deputy Sejm Speaker Aleksander Malachowski, evaluating the proposal submitted by the SLD deputies.

"We believe that the state's relations with all churches should be regulated in the same way," stated SLD Deputy Witold Firak. He added that ordinances issued by the Office of the Council of Ministers regarding restitution of property did not depend on any legal regulations, which made for making arbitrary decisions.

According to Deputy Speaker Malachowski, the fact that such a proposal is made at the time when the Concordat is being discussed "may cause friction between the church and the state." "This was all the more unneeded because the Union of Labor [UP] has already submitted a draft that envisions parliamentary control over the activity of the property commission of the government and the Episcopate; this alone causes rumbles of anger among the interested people. Both the church and the state look at the UP initiative as a lack of confidence."

The deputy Sejm speaker believes that the parliament is entitled to control everything that concerns property claims made by churches and religious bodies. "This does not mean that the parliament intends to meddle with the commissions' decisions," Aleksander Malachowski gave assurances.

Some deputies believe that a change in the procedure regarding claims that were made before 1991 and are being examined now changes the legal situation of the property involved.

"Some property will change ownership as a result of an agreement between the church and the interested people, other property would be returned as a result of legal proceedings. Moreover, the draft also includes a provision that allows appeals from already made decisions. This spells destabilization of the law," the deputy speaker says.

Sejm commissions are now working on the draft amendment to the law on relations between the state and the Catholic Church. Even according to left-wing deputies, the draft stands little chance of being passed. "It was submitted by Deputy Ryszard Zajac, who frequently pursues his own policies rather than the club's," they say.

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Romania: Hungarian Group Condemns Provocations

LD0905171196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The marble memorial plaque to the Arad martyrs [of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and war of independence] has been sprayed with black paint by unknown perpetrators.

According to a report by ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO, the Hungarian-language inscription on the wall of Arad's Primary School No. 1 and a Romanian secondhand book shop's window displaying Hungarian books were also painted with indelible paint.

The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania immediately protested against the provocation which, in their view, was an anti-Hungarian act.

Romania: PDSR Leader on BBC's Election Coverage

AU1005120296 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 May 96 p 1

[Report by MEDIAFAX: "Believing It Does a Disservice to the Party of Social Democracy of Romania and Favors the Opposition, the 'European' Adrian Nastase Suggests Banning the BBC in Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The PDSR [Party of Social Democracy of Romania] plans to notify the National Audiovisual Council about the way in which the election campaign is being reported by BBC radio. "We will ask the Council to examine all aspects of this problem carefully and make a decision regarding the permission granted to some local radio stations to rebroadcast BBC programs," Adrian Nastase [PDSR executive president] said in Ploiest on Saturday, 4 May. According to the PDSR leader, that station's assessments and commentaries on the political situation in Romania are biased and do a disservice to the PDSR in favor of the opposition. "It should be clear that Britain is not one of Romania's counties. In my view, it is not normal for the BBC to appear in the election campaign on the side of the opposition parties. The BBC should explain to Romanians what is happening in Britain and in the world, and not broadcast from London what is happening in Romania. That is the duty of independent journalists, newspapers, radio and television stations in Romania," Adrian Nastase said.

Romania: Cars Linked to PDSR Used by Street Brawlers

AU1005132396 Bucharest ZIUA in Romanian 7 May 96 p 4

[Article by Calin Berceanu and Liviu Man: "The Cars in Which Iliescu's Brawlers Left Belong to the Firm of the PDSR Cluj Branch"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As we have already informed our readers, on the occasion of President Iliescu's visit to Cluj, a group of citizens who happened to have different political opinions were severely beaten up by persons whose identity, for the time being, has not been revealed to the public. A group of eyewitnesses, whose names we are not yet disclosing for security reasons, told us that the aggressors, after they had beaten up everybody they could, left in four cars that were parked on Iuliu Maniu street. The cars were three vans with license plates: CJ-01-HNN, CJ-01-RNU, CJ-03-XKH, and a red Dacia car with the license plate 7-CJ-2740. The only other parked vehicle in that area was a gendarme car. According to the information obtained by the reporters of daily ZIUA, these cars belong to SC NAPOCA Constructii SA company, whose manager is Stefan Dimitriu, head of the Cluj-Napoca Party of Social Democracy of Romania [PDSR] organization. When contacted on the phone, he admitted that the cars parked on Iuliu Maniu street belong to the firm that he runs. Stefan Dimitriu told us that the respective cars were used by workers who are working on the building site of the monument "Glory to the Romanian Soldier," which is about 100 meters away from the scene of the incident. The SC NAPOCA SA manager could not tell us how many workers were taken to their workplace, but remembered that two teams of mosaic craftsmen were among them. When we asked Dimitriu why the mosaic craftsmen were wearing beige coats, he said that he did not check how the workers were dressed.

Stefan Dimitriu also told us that the red Dacia is used by the "guards" and sometimes the head of this team, Retired Colonel Gheorghe Muresan. According to eyewitnesses, this is the gray-haired, short person who coordinated the whole action.

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Slovenia: U.S. Plan for Balkan Economic Group Viewed

AU0905202796 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 8 May 96 p 8

[Article by S.R.: "Are the Americans Forming a Southern European Alliance?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 8 May—Montenegrin Prime Minister Mile Djukanovic reportedly learned of an important novelty during his recent visit to Washington. He was supposedly told at the State Department that the Americans planned to push strongly for the formation of a southern European economic initiative. At least, that is what the Montenegrin papers are announcing.

The U.S. Administration reportedly expects this would be an economic group that would accelerate the economic linking and development of the former Yugoslav republics and other Balkan states. It would consist of Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Turkey and, naturally, all the countries that have emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia—Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Montenegro.

It is really intriguing that, upon their return from Washington, neither Prime Minister Djukanovic nor Finance Minister Predrag Goranovic wished to speak about it. The prime minister merely strove hard at the meeting with the representatives of the U.S. National Security Council, which is a nongovernmental organization, to prove that Montenegro is particularly interested in good relations with its neighbors, primarily, the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Here, he reportedly singled out Macedonia and Slovenia, and also said that it would not be long until relations are normalized with Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. His hosts, thus, received the impression that the formation of a sort of southern European or Balkan economic community would suit Montenegro very much as it would facilitate its escape from Belgrade's stifling embrace. However, since the ideas about the formation of the alliance of the south Adriatic states, which would link up Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Greece, and some Italian regions have died out in the meantime, the capital of the oldest South Slavonic state pounced on the U.S. idea of a southern European economic initiative like a drowning man clutches at straws.

Slovenia: Christian Democrats Hope Thaler Resigns

AU1005152796 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 May 96

[Report by Marjan Rogelj on news conference by the Slovene Christian Democrats in Ljubljana on 10 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Party Secretary General Hilda Tovsak again warned that the Christian Democrats would support the no-confidence vote in Foreign Minister Thaler—because our rapprochement with Europe is too slow, because the relations with Croatia are unchanged, because Thaler insulted parliament with some of his statements, and because he, instead of cooperating with this party, criticized the Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD].

At the meeting of the coalition on Monday [13 May], they will explain their views to the Liberal Democrats. They hope that they will meet with understanding and that Thaler will offer his resignation. They already have a candidate for the post of foreign minister. Mrs. Tovsak also said that the party was dissatisfied because the government has been delaying its consent to the appointment of Primoz Rode as the director of the Clinical Center for a year.

Regarding the changes to the electoral legislation, Nace Polajnar expressed regret that the Social Democratic Party was not taking part in the negotiations of the deputies' groups, as numerous issues arose in these talks that, according to Polajnar, could not be resolved with referendums. He believes that the State Chamber must change the electoral legislation so that it will be more transparent and will respect the will of the people more. [passage omitted].

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Federal

FRY: Politicians To Decide Future of 3 Indicted Officers

LD1005122796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 10 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 May (SRNA)—Yugoslav Army headquarters has decided to let the political leadership make the final decision on the fate of the three officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army who are being sought by The Hague tribunal, Belgrade's B-92 radio reported last night, citing reliable sources in the Yugoslav Army.

The radio claims that the fate of General Mile Mrksic, Colonel Veselin Sljivancanin, and Captain Miroslav Radic was discussed recently at a meeting of senior Yugoslav Army commanders. International law experts and military attaches also participated in the meeting.

When consideration was given to the possibility of handing them over to The Hague tribunal, says the military source cited by the radio, two conflicting ideas dominated. The first was that active and retired Yugoslav officers could not just be handed over to the international tribunal because it would have a negative impact on the officer corps and the troop morale.

Those advocating the first view said that this was not in keeping with the Constitution and laws of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while others thought that it "is essential to understand the reality of the situation" and pointed to the consequences of rejecting possible cooperation with the tribunal.

It was ultimately decided at the meeting that the politicians should decide, while in the meantime the responsible command structures and soldiers should be prepared for the most unfavorable outcome—their handover.

The radio's sources in the Yugoslav Army claim that intense activities and preparations are under way in anticipation of a decision by the political leadership. It is still not known what the decision will be, but the problem has caused noticeable anxiety in the army.

FRY: Defense Minister Meets With Bulgarian Army Chief

LD1005132796 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 10 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic held talks today with Tsvetan Mladenov Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, and members of the Bulgarian military delegation that is on an official visit to the Yugoslav Army.

Minister Bulatovic and General Totomirov agreed that it is the people living in the region who have the greatest interest in peace and security in the Balkans and its prosperity, and that the Balkan states must jointly, persistently, and resolutely build their own future.

They also agreed that all the conditions are right for strengthening cooperation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the system of defense and civil protection, and also in military, economic, scientific, and technical areas.

FRY: National Bank's Role in Succession Issue

96BA0266C Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 96 p 13

[Response of Kosta Mihailovic, member of the academy and chairman of the Commission for Succession, to Governor Avramovic of the Yugoslav National Bank: "The Meddling of the NBJ Is Intolerable"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Dear Governor,

My letter of 27 March of this year, the day you left for Paris, warned you once again not to meddle in the distribution of foreign exchange, gold, or any property, all of which is in the jurisdiction of the federal government and the Group for Succession it appointed. You not only have failed to heed that warning, but that same day you sent the text of the "Model of an Agreement on Division of Blocked Assets Abroad," in which you proposed that the foreign exchange of the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ] blocked abroad be divided and the gold stock of the NBJ abroad used as the basis for creating the Balkan Stabilization and Development Fund, and also a procedure for implementation of those ideas with the specific request to arrange a meeting with the governors of the former Yugoslav republics for 11-12 April of this year.

The Group for Succession met on 2 April this year, and after examination of the "Model of an Agreement..." it adopted the following conclusions:

1. The "Model of an Agreement..." does not correspond in its title and content to the resolution adopted in a meeting of the Commission of the Federal Government for Monitoring the International Conference on the Previous Yugoslavia on 7 December 1995, which reads (in the verified version): "That the NBJ and Federal Finance Ministry, in cooperation with the Group for Succession, study the possibility of freeing our assets abroad." Accordingly, it was a question of breaking the blockade, not of distribution of the assets. Of course, distribution might also serve the function of

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removing the blockade, but that is an expensive, risky, and therefore an unacceptable way. For those reasons, other possibilities and measures become vastly more important. The NBJ says nothing about those measures, although it is well aware of having undertaken judicial countermeasures in expectation that they would succeed in removing the blockade.

2. The Group for Succession resolutely rejects division of the foreign exchange assets of the NBJ blocked abroad as a partial division, which is contrary both to the general agreement that Yugoslav property be divided up in a "package deal" and also to the tactics used in negotiations.

3. The proposed use of the gold stock of the state of Yugoslavia, not of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, abroad as the basis for creating the Balkan Stabilization and Development Fund would have some prospect of being accepted once an agreement is reached on division of total property. In the present situation, this idea is unacceptable and legally unfeasible for the interested parties.

4. There are no new factors that would bring about a change of the earlier decision that the meeting of governors not be held. The Group for Succession is not only not willing to consent to holding the meeting in which distribution would be debated, but it resolutely opposes any intervention of the governor and the National Bank of Yugoslavia in its jurisdiction. It will oppose with every available means new attempts of the NBJ to intervene in its jurisdiction and will demand accountability for the consequences of that act of compromising the negotiating position of the FRY in negotiations concerning succession.

Finally, it neither is implied in the letter of Mr. Kontic, nor did he give you consent, which I personally checked in a direct telephone conversation, that you have authority to call a meeting with the governors of the former Yugoslav republics.

Kosta Mihailovic

Belgrade, 4 April 1996

FRY: 'Expert' Says Bosnia Never Parent Country to FRY Muslims

LD0905154496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 9 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—Dr. Avdul Kurpejovic, a prominent expert from Podgorica, who has carried out a number of state functions in Yugoslavia and Montenegro, believes that efforts aimed at proving that Bosnia is the parent country of Muslims from Serbia and Montenegro are arbitrary and politically-oriented.

Bosnia cannot and has never been the parent country of Muslims from Serbia and Montenegro, just as claims that Muslims from Serbia and Montenegro are Bosnians who speak the Bosnian language are unscientific and groundless, Dr. Kurpejovic told radio Yugoslavia on Wednesday.

Asked to comment on current activities in the Serbian Raska region (ancient Turkish name Sandzak) by the leadership of the Muslim Party of Democratic Action (SDA) on renaming the local Muslims into Bosnians, Dr. Kurpejovic said that national sentiment is the individual and private right of all citizens.

He said that this is why no-one is authorized to limit nor to make collective personal human rights, including SDA from the town of Novi Pazar, in Raska, which is doing this on orders by Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic.

Concerning the Muslims from Montenegro, Kurpejovic said that it has been proven both scientifically and historically that they are descendents of the Islamic indigneous population.

Saying that the process of Islamisation started with the arrival of the Turks in these regions, Kurpejovic said that it is ridiculous to claim that the local Muslims have arrived from Bosnia or Turkey.

Thus, all attempts and intentions to rename Muslims in Serbia and Montenegro into Bosnians is the direct negation of their national identity, which is contrary to constitutional solutions and is illegal.

Kurpejovic said that the best solution for preserving the identity of the Muslims in Montenegro and Serbia is to urge equality of all citizens in a civic and democratic state. Such a state secures the constitutive position and statehood of all peoples regardless of their numbers, religious and national affiliation.

All other efforts, especially those for the autonomy or special status of Raska, are detrimental for the Muslims because it leads them into isolation and poverty, Dr. Kurpejovic said.

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Kosovo

Kosovo: SSJ Leaders Vow To Defend Serbs in Kosovo

AU0905170096 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 96 p 6

[Report by "A.R.P.": "Law Against Terror"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On behalf of the Party of Serbian Unity [SSJ], Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan and Borislav Pelevic, leaders of this party, expressed concern over the incidents in Kosovo and Metohija.

"I still believe that this state is able to get a grip on the terrorism in Kosovo, but if the Serbian people happen to be endangered there, the Serbian Volunteer Guard [paramilitary formation led by Arkan] will be mobilized to defend it," the SSJ chairman stated.

Raznatovic said that he expected clashes in Kosovo to erupt "if not this year then certainly next year." As a possible solution, he suggested that the police force deployed there be doubled and a law on terrorism possibly passed.

The SSJ will be taking part in the parliamentary elections in the Serb Republic, but as its leaders announce, "it is not going to put forward a presidential candidate because the party considers immoral and undemocratic such presidential elections in which Karadzic's candidacy is disallowed." Moreover, this party will not be forming any coalitions in the Serb Republic or in the federal elections in the FRY.

Kosovo: Daily Interviews Kosovo Parliamentary Party Leader

AU1005113696 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 96 p 12

[Interview with Bajram Kosumi, leader of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo, by Bahri Cani and Dragoljub Petrovic; place and date not given: "'Condemnations' Are Not Enough"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The killing of Armend Daci, regardless of who carried it out and the person's motives, cannot be classified with the usual excesses because the Serb authorities had already armed the local Serbs seven years ago. On the other hand, weapons have been taken away from the Albanians for the last four years, regardless of the fact that they are in possession of legal licenses," said Bajram Kosumi, leader of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo [PPK], at the beginning of his interview for NASA BORBA. This interview was made on the occasion of the recent tragic events. Kosumi is leaving open the possibility that the official Belgrade policy is not interested in excesses, due to the beginning of the normalization of relations with the international community. Nevertheless....

Kosumi says that "the situation in Kosovo could explode any day, and the responsibility for this is borne exclusively by the Serb authorities, who armed the Serbs from Kosovo as well as various paramilitary groups."

[NASA BORBA] Do you, however, believe that it will be possible to find a peaceful solution for this area after these incidents?

[Kosumi] The Albanians have believed the international community so far. They have believed that the international community will strongly support the peaceful policy of the Albanian side, and that the Serb official policy will realize that a peaceful solution is in the interest of both nations. After the recognition of the FRY, however, the Albanians have begun to lose hope that a just solution will also be found for them. They are disappointed and troubled. The situation has reached the point at which one spark [varnica] will be enough to bring their five or six years of patience to the point of explosion.

We have recently been under a great deal of pressure from citizens to organize protests and other forms [vidovi] of expressing dissatisfaction. The political parties were in a very difficult situation when they once again had to call upon the citizens to have patience.

The Serb side, together with the international community, must know that by dragging out the Kosovo problem the situation can only be exacerbated, and that we will have many more problems than we have had so far.

[NASA BORBA] In saying that, do you mean that the citizens are losing faith in the political parties and the policy of peaceful resistance?

[Kosumi] The Albanian people so far have had—and I think they still have—trust in the leadership of the movement in Kosovo as well as in the Albanian state institutions. Our peace policy has been confirmed on innumerable occasions over the past few years, regardless of the force of the Serb state apparatus. If the recognition of Yugoslavia means a halfway solution for Kosovo, then the citizens will also definitely lose their trust in the political parties, which will not have control over further developments in the situation. This will mean a total destabilization not only of Kosovo but of the entire region. If the political parties of the Albanians are not in a position to find a way to channel the energy and the dissatisfaction of the citizens, it could lead to destabilization of the entire region. The only way to avoid this is by resorting to all the methods of peaceful resistance.

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[NASA BORBA] Do you think that the killing of Daci is a reason to kill Serb citizens?

[Kosumi] I do not think that this is a motive, because Serb state bodies have previously killed children, students, elderly people, and women, and there were no similar counterattacks. There could be other connections apart from the cause and effect connection between these killings.

[NASA BORBA] There is talk in Kosovo that Albanian terrorist groups exist. According to your information, is this the issue?

[Kosumi] I do not believe that the issue here is something similar, nor that something similar will be permitted. However, perhaps the Serb authorities are hoping for this. Nevertheless, terrorist organizations have existed, do exist, and I believe that they will still exist in the future. They have had their offices in the Grand Hotel with a sign on the door, just like Arkan's Tigers [a group led by Zeljko Raznjatovic—Arkan, alleged war criminal], [Vojislav] Seselj's [leader of the Serbian Radical Party] paramilitary groups....

[NASA BORBA] I was thinking of Albanian terrorist groups....

[Kosumi] About two months ago, when those explosions in the refugee camps took place, public information media also published the news that the responsibility was taken by the "Liberation Army of Kosovo" [Oslobodilacka Vojska Kosova]. According to this organization, unless a peaceful solution is found, national goals should be realized through war. They did not sign their proclamations, so I do not know who these people are or under whose patronage they are operating.

As a party, we insist on peaceful resistance. I believe that such a policy will be successful, and it will not leave room for those who are calling for war. What will happen in the future, and whether the nation will start an uprising, can nevertheless not be assured. I do not believe it will come to that. I think a a peaceful solution will be found.

[NASA BORBA] What do you think of the attacks upon Serb citizens?

[Kosumi] Regardless of whom it is exercised upon, every act of violence has to be condemned. Every citizen is a person, whether his name is Armend or whether it is a female worker in the "Cakor" bar. When people are being killed, the mere "condemnation" is not enough. Regardless of the person that carried out the act, the Serb regime is creating conditions for the killing of people. The executor could have been anyone, but the creator of Belgrade's policy is responsible. Belgrade and Milosevic are responsible also for the deaths of students as well as the deaths of policemen, the cleaning lady....

[NASA BORBA] What do you expect to happen in the following days? Will there be an escalation, or is the situation expected to quiet down?

[Kosumi] The recent events will not affect the course of politics, although all this should be a warning to Albanian political parties, to the Belgrade politicians, as well as to the entire international community.

Regarding the direction of future operations of the Albanian movement, I think that a more active resistance against the Serb regime is necessary, as well as the return of workers to their workplaces, of students to their schools, the organization of total disobedience—from the refusal to pay taxes, to the total blockade of the life that is imposed upon the Albanians by the police, army, and the state administration. In that case, Serbia would realize that, with such a Kosovo, it is working only at a loss and that it has to sit at a negotiating table in order to talk and negotiate with the Albanians.

[NASA BORBA] Will such actions be organized soon?

[Kosumi] I do not think they will be organized at the moment, but the Albanian movement is now being offered two solutions: first, the continuation of the current policy, and second, an extension [nadogradnja] of the current policy, which would no longer be as passive. If not at the moment, I believe that this second option will be taken in the very near future. The sooner Serbia realizes there will be no definitive solution to the Balkan crisis without a just solution of the Kosovo issue, the better it will be for Serbs as well as Albanians.

[NASA BORBA] Does this solution mean resorting to war?

[Kosumi] No. This is only peaceful resistance. We are only asking for our buildings that have been occupied by the Serb police. Just because we do not want our lives to be determined by the Serb administration and the police to exhaust us [dovesti dusu do nosa], it does not mean we want war, only a dignified life. Just because we want our own parliament and state institutions, it does not mean we want war. It is clear to everyone that Serbia currently does not recognize over 90 percent of the population in Kosovo.

Moreover, if one takes a closer look, Serbia—de facto—already recognizes the Republic of Kosovo. It knows that some of its institutions exist, and it is not in a position to obstruct them. It needs a little more courage to recognize the factual situation de jure as well.

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Vojvodina

Vojvodina: Commentary Views Prospects for Peace in B-H

AU0605132896 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 96 p 4

[Commentary by Marko Lopusina: "War or the Euro-Pact"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Well informed British circles have recently claimed that in Bosnia the Muslims have an army of 500 well trained commandos whose task was to capture Serbs accused of war crimes. The existence and the activities of such an illegal army, which was set up in Iran, could be the reason for an increase in armed clashes between Serbs and Muslims and thus the ruin of the Dayton agreement and direct negation of the peace role of IFOR [Implementation Force] in Bosnia.

After 120 days controlling the implementation of the Dayton agreement in Bosnia, the main commanders of IFOR, NATO, and the Muslim Army [Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina] are satisfied with the results achieved in the military sphere. The three armies have been separated, there are no more armed conflicts, and the majority of troops were demobilized by the anticipated date, 18 April. True, not all the heavy arms had been handed over to IFOR and NATO by that date, but Javier Solana extended the deadline.

All three sides have given up over the majority of the territories they had to abandon according to the agreement. The Serbs were the most disciplined, but Western observers do not stress that very much for fear that they might rehabilitate the Serb side from their own accusations. There have been difficulties in Mostar, where the tension between Muslims and Croats has increased, and around Brcko, i.e., around the narrow corridor which connects the eastern and the western parts of the country controlled by Serbs, and where the Muslim government demands larger territories for itself.

The Case of Brcko

Last month the Serb authorities sent to Brcko around 3,000 Serb refugees who had fled Muslim rule in Sarajevo. And while the Serbs from Sarajevo continue to go to Brcko, the commanders of NATO and Western diplomats insist that the Bosnian Serb leadership allow displaced Croats and Muslims to return to Brcko under conditions determined by the Dayton agreement. When a group of Serbs opposed the arrival of a big column of Muslims in the town, IFOR officers ordered the troops to shoot at Serb civilians. The Dayton peace agreement has left the destiny of Brcko unresolved, and IFOR cannot solve it either, although it has tried to implement it forcefully. That showed that those who are against force use force in the name of their laws, mostly against the Serbs.

Carl Bildt has already described the situation around Brcko as the toughest test for the success of the peace agreement, not mentioning Mostar, and he criticized the Serb authorities for sending refugees to an area that still awaits arbitration. Cold people from the West sometimes believe the peoples in Bosnia will live where they order them to, not where their forefathers lived; some other Serb towns have had similar problems with the arrival of Muslims.

Although officials like General [rank as published] Leighton Smith believe IFOR has already fulfilled its peace role in Bosnia, serious Western analysts have warned that a large number of civilian problems have not been solved at all. The first one is the repatriation of refugees. Around 2 million refugees must return to their homes or move somewhere else. UN representatives claim that this will last at least two years, if not longer, assuming that the conflict does not resume.

Another unsolved problem is the elections in Bosnia, because without them this country effectively does not have a government or authorities, just Muslim and Euro-American rule. Carl Bildt has set the date for the elections for September because he wanted to help maintain the Muslim-Croat federation, which today exits only on paper. Although the date for the elections has been set, more than elections are necessary to form an effective confederal government comprising Serbs and the representatives of the Muslim-Croat coalition in Bosnia, as anticipated in the Dayton peace agreement. Setting up the new government will take much longer than four months, which is how long it will be between the elections and the deadline anticipated for the December withdrawal of IFOR from Bosnia. It is questionable how regular those elections will be, because one condition of the West is that the Serbs remove their leaders from the list.

The third problem of the peacekeepers in Bosnia is the nonexistence of a civilian police force. The international police forces are under the auspices of the United Nations, which has so far deployed only about 700 out of the 1,700 policemen anticipated by the Dayton agreement. For the Western states, particularly the European ones, it is hard to recruit police for Bosnia. Only 10 percent of those who applied had a satisfactory knowledge of English, and 30 percent had been unable to pass their driving test.

The fourth burning issue of the civilian authorities in Bosnia is the fight against crime and war criminals. After the demobilization of 300,000 soldiers, Bosnia has turned into a country of unemployed young men. Their

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biggest source of income these days is smuggling and both petty and more serious crimes, as is particularly obvious in Mostar. On the other hand, although all three sides have drawn up lists of those accused of war crimes, no decision has yet been made as to who should arrest these people. IFOR and NATO do not want to do it because they have not been ordered to. Gen. Joulwan himself has said that he does not want to be accused of "abusing the mandate," as happened to him in Somalia, when he was chasing runaway putschists, while the army of the Muslim-Croat federation would like to capture only the accused Serbs but has no access to Serb territory.

What Is Done Behind IFOR's Back

In such a situation of semisuccess for the United Nations, the United States, IFOR, and NATO, U.S. President Bill Clinton recently repeated that he would fulfill the promise given to the nation and withdraw his troops from Bosnia at the end of 1996. Clinton reiterated his decision, because after the death of Trade Secretary Ron Brown near Dubrovnik, he felt responsible for the fate of his men in Bosnia. The President of the United States wishes to go into the elections without the burden that the situation in Bosnia would impose on him. He has already had to face the "Iran-gate" affair, because of the illegal import of arms for the Muslims. Military experts claim that at least five months are necessary for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from IFOR, so that, according to those calculations, the Americans should be starting to leave Bosnia as early as August. The British and French Governments have stated that their soldiers would also leave when the Americans withdraw.

German Defense Minister Ruehe has taken a firm attitude: "We must not lose the battle in the Balkan hills. After 20 December 1996, there will be no German troops in the Balkans, either. It must not become an endless engagement, nor can it be an engagement that goes beyond the present one. I still do not know how long it will last." Carl Bildt, coordinator for the civil reconstruction of Bosnia, recently openly admitted that the success of his work depended on whether in Bosnia "a consciousness on general security will be created, for which a certain military presence is necessary." If NATO troops withdraw from Bosnia, it will mean that they have only managed to implement "the most expensive cease-fire in the history of mankind," as Javier Solana, the secretary general of NATO, said. The remaining nine months of IFOR's mandate is not even enough to solve the remaining problems. If the Dayton agreement is not transformed into reality by the end of the year, Muslim Gen. Sead Delic have threatened that he and his troops will have no choice but to "defeat the Chetniks by ourselves."

The investigations of the German Foundation for Science and Politics showed the following: "Just as happened with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] earlier, soon IFOR could also have to face the fact that behind the separation line supervised by the peace troops the warring armies have been creating new offensive capacities." Last week the Pentagon published a study by its intelligence agency, the DIA, which said without much hesitation that the prospects for Bosnia if NATO forces leave are very gloomy.

Light Eurocorps

"The decision about the post-IFOR period should be made at an international summit in June," said NATO Secretary General Javier Solana, who is personally convinced that at the beginning of 1997 IFOR will still be in Bosnia. The last phase of the plan of a purely military nature will in Solana's judgment then be finished, and the main task of IFOR soldiers will be control of the 1,000-km demarcation line between the Croat-Muslim federation and the Serb Republic. In the meantime, the response of Klaus Kinkel to Muslim threats was to threaten sanctions, or rather abolish financial help, without which the majority of Bosnia's civilian problems cannot be solved.

France believes that after the departure of the Americans, around 20,000 soldiers should still remain in Bosnia. The French Government has already started cautiously examining in Bonn whether a Eurocorps is possible as a replacement for the American soldiers. These forces, which consist of 50,000 Frenchmen, Germans, Belgians, Spaniards, and Luxembourgers, have been completely prepared for intervention since November 1995. The Eurocorps was foreseen precisely for cases like Bosnia, as an intervention force of Europeans that can act independently of the Americans. The Defense Ministry in Bonn first rejected the proposal from Paris. So far, the Bundeswehr, out of fear of the historical Serbian antipathy toward Germans, has primarily been present in medical, supply, and reconnaissance units on the periphery of Bosnia. However, in the multinational Eurocorps, the Bundeswehr could take on the same tasks as the French, including the deployment of combat forces on the territory of the Bosnian Serbs. After all, this spring the Germans have held several military maneuvers. In the "Freiher von Gersdorf" barracks in Euskirchen, 900 German soldiers, lead by Gen. Holge Hansen, performed the maneuver "Strong Watch" with a known scenario: Multinational forces under the leadership of the Atlantic alliance are sent into a crisis area called "Bovinia" to sure up an endangered peace there,

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on the order of the United Nations, just like in Bosnia. True, Chancellor Helmut Kohl admits that he does not know "how much intervention in Bosnia would cost or how long it would last." If the Europeans had to get more involved in the Balkans to prevent a new war, Germany would hardly be able to oppose it. The planners of European security in Brussels hope that the United States will still remain engaged, at least by giving its means of communication, aircraft, and ships to the Europeans. Without the Americans the Eurocorps could not function, since out of the 45 satellite channels that IFOR uses, 43 belong to the Pentagon. There have been some indications that the British and French would be satisfied if the Americans left them their base for logistic support in neighboring Hungary.

Division Just as in Cyprus

What will really happen in Bosnia after the departure of IFOR mostly depends on the Europeans and on how much Germany, Great Britain, France, Spain, and Russia want peace in the Balkans. But it costs money. The Europeans should calculate how many billions of German marks the light Eurocorps would cost. The United States has made political use of Bosnia. It has shown the world that it can rule. In Brussels and Geneva, plans on the division of Bosnia along the Cyprus model are being made. However, one European official, who trusts the Americans, indicated that the Western forces should stay in Bosnia for another two years. Foreign journalists, however, have already reported that a legend related to Visko Polje says that not even that period would be enough for peace between the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. According to that legend, peace will not come to the region before the year 2000. And, even once the wars are finally over, the nearest neighbor will be a day's walk away.

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